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The Shape of Things

IT IS A HEARTENING EXPERIENCE TO TURN back to the headlines of a year ago. Then the British were standing with their backs to the wall at El Alamein and the Russians were retreating towards the Don as the second Nazi summer offensive gathered momentum. In the Pacific the Japanese had met defeat at Midway but still held the initiative and still threatened Australia. Today it is Japan that is struggling to hold its far-flung outposts at a steadily mounting cost, particularly in ships and planes. In Russia the Nazis, seeking to stage one more offensive, have been stopped in short order and now find themselves hard put to resist a powerful Soviet counter-attack. Finally, in the Mediterranean the Axis is at long last suffering the pains and terrors of invasion. Within a week of the Allied landings one quarter of Sicily has been overrun. As we write, a decisive battle for Catania is being waged, and if this stronghold falls, there can no longer be any doubt about the outcome of the campaign. The Allied operations have been brilliantly conceived and meticulously organized, and, it is clear, we have developed a punch which has both surprised and shaken the enemy. In fact, the Italian backbone is visibly cracking as invasion of the mainland becomes an early probability.

*

MUSSOLINI'S TOTTERING REGIME IS BEING subjected to political as well as military assault, and the question of how long it can survive has ceased to be academic. Seldom in war has there been a greater opportunity for skilled political strategy. But such a strategy, to be fully effective, must be constructive, and the weakness of the joint ultimatum delivered to the people of Italy by the President and Mr. Churchill is its rather negative appeal. It correctly seeks to drive a wedge between the Italians and their fascist oppressors and warns that the sole hope of survival lies in "honorable capitulation." But there is no suggestion of what sort of government will succeed that of Mussolini; no positive hope extended of a chance for Italians to choose their own rulers. This kind of appeal may encourage piecemeal surrenders; it might even foster a palace revolution; it will not light the spark of revolt in a dispirited and hungry people. Nor do we believe that the workers and peasants will find much inspiration in the military government

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we have installed in Sicily—presumably as a model of what is in store for the whole of Italy. Inevitably such an administration must operate through the local authorities, and since all Italian office-holders had to be members of the party, this means we shall be dependent on the cooperation of Fascists, even though the party itself is to be suppressed. It is difficult to see how this situation could be avoided altogether, but we ought to take steps quickly to fill the political vacuum which will exist in Italy with the overthrow of the Fascists. We can hardly make progress in this direction by prohibiting all political activity and refusing to deal with exiled anti-Fascists.

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IN THE CURIOUS ARGOT OF AMERICAN diplomacy Admiral Robert of Martinique has "expressed a desire to relinquish his authority." Translated, this means that Vichy's last viceroy in the Americas has been starved out of his hole. The State Department's cryptic announcement about Robert was forthright simplicity compared with its comments on his successor, Henri-Etienne Hoppenot, who was designated by the French Committee of National Liberation. Accepting Hoppenot's authority—indeed utilizing that authority to secure American military interests in the Caribbean zone—the State Department is careful to divorce its profitable recognition of the appointee from the faintest suspicion that it recognizes those who appointed him. The acceptance of Hoppenot's designation, reads the announcement, "is not to be construed as affecting either pro or con the question of this government's relations with the French Committee of National Liberation." In short, the action is not to be construed. It is to be left suspended in that fog of unreality which conceals even from the President the truth that the French Empire, with 40,000,000 inhabitants, is a fighting ally, that it is administered by a committee, sitting in Algiers, with at least as much claim to recognition as the exiled government of Poland, sitting in London. In this same fog our allies are beginning to lose sight of us altogether. From London Geoffrey Parsons, Jr., reports to the New York *Herald Tribune* the disappointment of the British and Russian governments over our refusal to join in a three-power recognition of the Algiers committee. "Being patient allies," he writes, "the British and Russians have withheld action while hoping that a revelation of reality and common sense might strike Washington." If we were the State Department we would construe this as con.

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A GOOD MANY GOOD PEOPLE THINK THAT the President's rebuke to Messrs. Wallace and Jones will prove a healthy tonic to a divided and bickering Administration. They say the President, having issued instructions against the airing of official disagreements, "had to" do just what he did. With this interpretation we disagree. It seems to us to ignore the political reality behind the administrative façade—the struggling for control between the most conservative group in the government and the group which is trying to use the federal machinery to hasten the winning of the war even at the expense of the guaranties and safeguards which big business has generally tried to exact as the price of cooperation. The Vice-President would never have attacked Mr. Jones openly if the President had backed up with action his verbal support of Wallace and the Board of Economic Warfare. Instead of doing so, he not only let Wallace carry the ball but failed to provide the necessary interference. It was suggested in a résumé of the case by Jack Beall in the New York *Herald Tribune* last Sunday that Mr. Wallace had "taken up" with the President the advisability of making a public attack on Mr. Jones, although he had not checked "the actual contents of his statement." But even assuming that the President was genuinely surprised and felt that he had to admonish the adversaries, we still believe he could have done it in a way that would not have jettisoned a vigorous New Deal agency and turned its functions over to a reactionary henchman of Mr. Jones—while continuing the latter in financial control. The fact that he presented this major victory to his chief opponents seems sure proof that today political appeasement is the President's own guiding directive.

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PRODIGAL JOHN L. LEWIS IS ABOUT TO return to the paternal mansion. The fatted calf—perhaps in this case the Progressive Mine Workers of Illinois—is ready, and the benedictions have been amply rehearsed. Those who fear that labor's bad boy is returning home with the idea of standing Father William on his head and taking over the house have relied on Dan Tobin of the Teamsters' Union to bar the way. The reliance proves to have been misplaced. Mr. Tobin, one of the New Deal's most ardent champions within the American Federation of Labor, not only welcomes Lewis in the name of unity but has some pretty harsh things to say about "political office-holders who interfere in any way in the cementing of the labor movement." It seems strangely unclear to Tobin and other Federation officials that nothing could be more calculated to *prevent* unity between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. than the success of Prodigal John's maneuver. It is not at all far-fetched to suppose in fact that this is one of his prime objectives. The man who broke away from the Federation to found the C. I. O. and then broke away from the C. I. O. when he lost caste is clearly a devotee of power, not unity. His present plans, we suspect, have more to do with building an anti-New Deal political machine than with "cementing the labor movement." What prompts Tobin to accept Lewis's bid at face value is anybody's guess. James A. Wechsler of *PM* reports that with the prospect of

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Green's imminent retirement from the presidency of the Federation, Tobin emerges as a leading candidate. "He could not be licked," Wechsler adds, "with Lewis's backing."

*

THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT'S ACTIONS continue to speak louder than its words. A Fourth of July speech by Foreign Minister Seguno Storni hailing the solidarity of the American nations persuaded some of our more Pollyanna-like correspondents and commentators to begin hanging out the flag. "The Argentine Republic," said Storni, "will stand with the other American nations in all those fields to which she is summoned by her commitments of honor and by her duties of pan-American cooperation." A few days later the wishful thinkers were still more encouraged by a letter addressed by Storni to Alberto Guani, chairman of the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense of the Hemisphere. This announced the appointment of an Argentine inter-ministerial committee to examine the relation between Resolutions Nos. 1 and 17 of the Rio conference. No. 1 recommended rupture of relations with the Axis powers; No. 17 dealt with subversive activities. The task of the inter-ministerial committee was to examine the possibility of giving full effect to the second without previously carrying out the first. The fact that the question of implementing No. 1 was brought up at all gave rise to hopeful suggestions that the Ramirez government was about to jump on our side of the fence. Since then, however, the fascist regime in Buenos Aires has fooled the optimists by its own interpretation of "subversive activities." For while it has suppressed the Nazi Federation of Welfare and Cultural Clubs, it has also cracked down on eight pro-United Nations societies on the ground that they have been infiltrated by "Communists." The excuse will seem thin enough to everyone except Goebbels and Martin Dies, especially in the case of the Acción Argentina, whose 400,000 members include the most respected names in the country. Meanwhile most of the pro-Nazi groups continue to operate undisturbed.

*

FRENCH CULTURE MAY BE IN TEMPORARY eclipse, but French couture still carries on, according to Mme Dieudonné Coste, who managed to "escape" from Nazi-controlled Paris last September with several trunks full of it. Mme Coste, who herself provides complete proof that clothes make the woman, gave a spirited picture of a "valiant Paris" where "gay parties . . . go to Longchamps and the races just as they used to," where women bravely "start out in the morning in the dress they intend to keep on all day. . . . At night they ride to the theater or restaurant wearing a dress that may sparkle lightly with sequins." The names in Mme Coste's roll of those who are keeping up the morale of Paris, under Nazi auspices, are well known—Maggie Rouff, Piguet, Balenciaga, Lelong, Alix, Paquin. And Mme Coste eagerly displayed some of their wares—a white satin Balenciaga with full skirt appliquéed with red violet flowers, a pink jersey Alix, an evening jacket from Piguet. She didn't say how she had managed to get her treasures past the Nazi-guarded frontier; she did say that "much of the skirt fulness is going to the back." We are fascinated by Mme Coste's revelations; we could wish, however, that she had told us more about underground fashions in the City of Light. We should like to know, for instance, what the anti-Fascist Parisienne wears when she starts out bravely in the morning, her eyes lightly sparkling with the knowledge that she may be in Nazi custody by night. But obviously Mme Coste never rode on the underground.

Why the Whitewash?

THE statement issued by Under Secretary of War Patterson on the situation at the Wright Aeronautical Corporation is unworthy of an official who has often in the past shown himself forthright and independent. Its net effect is to disparage the findings of the Truman committee and to whitewash the procedure inside the Army Air Corps. It may, indeed, be true that conditions at the Lockland, Ohio, plant were "much less sensational than some of the inferences drawn in recently published statements." But improvement is more likely to come from a straight admission of abuses uncovered than an attempt to gloss over the facts. Public criticism will be good for both the company and the inspection corps, and it is easy to believe Senator Truman's retort that his committee's conclusions were "exceedingly temperate" in the light of the 1,286 pages of sworn testimony on which they were based.

The fact is that the Patterson statement, whether the Under Secretary realizes it or not, is but the latest and most important of a series of steps taken by the army bureaucracy to keep the facts or at least their full import from the public. The first was when Brigadier General Bennett E. Meyers of the Army Air Force assured the Truman committee that nothing irregular was going on at the plant. It was after these assurances that the committee in its own hearings discovered that tests were being falsified, records destroyed, and inspection reports forged to enable the company to get by with defective and substandard parts and engines. The committee found that honest army inspectors were browbeaten and punished by higher-ups for doing their duty. It accuses Lieutenant Colonel Frank C. Greulich, chief inspector of the Army Air Forces, of misrepresentation. It says that the Office of the Air Inspector has still taken no action looking toward the investigation and punishment of officers who attempted to deceive the committee. The

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army's own board of investigation under Lieutenant General William S. Knudsen finally confirmed most of the facts found by the Truman committee but sought to minimize their importance. This is a strange attitude to take toward conduct that was hurting the morale of workers and inspectors and might well have endangered the lives of our own airmen and those of our allies. The Under Secretary would do better to use less energy in talking and more in house-cleaning.

Seven Years of Franco

THE seventh anniversary of the German-Italian-Spanish uprising finds the Franco regime moving rapidly toward crisis. Placed in power by Hitler and Mussolini, Franco for two and a half years enjoyed the benefits of the strong military position of the Axis. Today, as the Axis begins to lose ground, Franco begins to slip with it. An eloquent sign of deterioration is the way his own representatives abroad talk about him. Recently an official of an American relief organization returned from London, where he had been seeking transit through Spain for several thousand European refugees. In London he asked the Duke of Alba, the Spanish ambassador, to obtain the necessary clearance from Madrid. "Is the matter urgent," the Duke asked, "or can it wait a couple of months?" The visitor admitted that the request could be temporarily delayed. "Then," replied the Duke, "let us wait. In two months the request may well have to be addressed to someone other than Franco." During the visit of Archbishop Spellman to Madrid the American churchman was frequently asked whether the Allied armies would guarantee the safety of the conservative class in case of what is called in Spain the *segunda vuelta.*

These revealing symptoms appeared at about the time that the Spanish monarchists addressed a message to Franco asking for a restoration of the throne. Although American newspapers carried only brief extracts from that document, every word of it is interesting. The following phrases are worth particular attention: "The end of the World War will have serious repercussions on the life of every nation. When the peace is signed, Spain must not be found still in a period of transition. Our country must begin now to build a state machinery consonant with the established traditions of Spain and adapted to the present circumstances. Only in that way can we prepare our nation to meet the brutal assaults of internal and external forces of dissolution and revolt."

The message of the Monarchists is, as anyone can see, something more than a subtle criticism of the present regime. It is a public notice of bankruptcy. Yet it would be unrealistic to conclude that the Franco dictatorship will be summarily displaced or that its growing weakness makes its adherence to the Axis no longer a matter of concern. While Monarchist plans find backing in Vatican Rome, and perhaps in Washington and London, Franco continues to benefit from the material and diplomatic support supplied by the Allies and to render valuable service to the Axis. His weak position at home does not, for instance, prevent him from suggesting peace when the Allies appear to be winning, or proposing a limitation of aerial warfare when the industrial centers of the Reich begin to crumble under the fierce attacks of British and American bombers. It does not prevent him from continuing to act as the main agent of the Axis in Latin America. In carrying out these important missions he can count on the facilities extended to him by Anglo-American policy. His agents travel everywhere on visas supplied by the democracies. The sea lanes and South American ports are open to his ships. In South America his priests agitate every Sunday against the allies of atheist Russia and condemn the destruction of the cathedral of Cologne.

That Franco's influence in Latin America is beginning to cause alarm at least in liberal quarters in Washington was indicated by the resolution introduced by Representative John Coffee asking that a committee be appointed to investigate Falangist activities in the Western Hemisphere. Even some officials who have ranked among the staunchest supporters of the "Christian General" have come to the conclusion that a change of rulers in Spain would serve the cause of the United Nations in America. They are beginning at last to realize that the influence of Franco is not merely encouraging clerical reaction in Latin America but is wholly enlisted on the side of the Axis. It is in this light that their recent maneuvers for a restoration of the monarchy may be understood. The diplomacy of expediency and balance of power that destroyed the Spanish Republic and supported Franco's terror is now being manipulated to place Don Juan on the throne of Spain.

The attempt is ridiculous rather than irritating. In any case it comes too late. In the year or two immediately following the end of the civil war the people of Spain might possibly have accepted a solution which would have freed them from the yoke of Franco and the Falange. Today they see the decline of the Axis abroad, and at home a regime in utter chaos. They have heard the Allied pledge that this is a war for democracy, and they are determined to accept no half-freedoms in the place of real freedom under the republic. Not even as a transitional solution could a monarchy be made acceptable. Kings do not ascend the throne to rule for a single winter. The republic is the only real and lasting solution for Spain. Those diplomats who seek in royalist plots the answer to their self-made dilemma will only add another explosive problem to the task of organizing post-war Europe.

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Wallace Betrayed

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, July 16

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT has again run out on his friends. The letters to Wallace and Jones are a repetition of the "plague o' both your houses." In 1937 this craven tactic drove from progressive ranks one who might have been America's ablest labor leader instead of the dark menace that he is today. In 1944 it will probably cost Henry Wallace the Vice-Presidency, the New Deal its most promising leader. When the firing grew hot in the Little Steel strike, Roosevelt turned impartially on the workers who believed in him and those who shot them down. Now, smugly even-handed, he equally rebukes the loyal and the disloyal, the lieutenant who risked his political future for the war effort and the lieutenant who sabotaged it. Justice itself could not be more blind.

No one would gather the true state of affairs from the President's complacent epistle of July 15. Until April 13, 1942, power over the importation of strategic materials was divided between Jones's Reconstruction Finance Corporation and Wallace's Board of Economic Warfare. On that date the President issued a directive placing full power in the BEW and instructing Jones to provide it with the necessary funds on order. Jones has ignored and disobeyed the Presidential directive. Instead of enforcing his order, the President decides to punish both men, the one who was carrying out instructions and the one who was violating them. This may be the comfortable way out, but it is not good administration.

Jones had gone to the Senate Appropriations Committee for an amendment by McKellar which would have restored by law the veto over material imports which was taken from Jones by Presidential directive. Jones was thus in the position of going over his chief's head to Congress. So serious a challenge to the President's authority called for summary action if White House instructions were to be taken seriously in the future. Jones is a powerful man, but the President, if he took his courage in his hands, is more powerful. A fight between them might hurt Roosevelt in 1944, but Roosevelt could ask for Jones's resignation as Secretary of Commerce and Federal Loan Administrator, and my guess is that in a showdown the Texan would knuckle under rather than relinquish a potent national position he might never recover. Roosevelt chose weakly to overlook Jones's insubordination.

What the President, with all his power, feared to do, the Vice-President accomplished. The political reasoning that led the President to acquiesce in the flouting of his authority applied with greater force to the Vice-President. By Roosevelt standards Wallace should have quietly accepted the McKellar amendment and knuckled under to Jones. What Wallace achieved by a brave and outspoken discussion of the facts is the best answer to the defeatist strategy of the White House. When the Senate Appropriations Committee voted down the McKellar amendment, it showed that Jones could be defeated in Congress and that appeasement was not the political necessity it is represented to be in White House apologetics. Wallace was fighting Roosevelt's battle as well as his own. The blow that struck him down was not Jones's but Roosevelt's, and the President chose to run away, not in the heat of battle, but in the flush of victory. The President has never shown less courage.

From several sources, a few days before the President betrayed Wallace, I heard that Speaker Rayburn wanted the Vice-Presidential nomination in 1944 and that the Texas delegation was trying to convince the White House that the Wallace-Jones dispute was an ideal occasion "to get rid of Jones" by sacrificing Wallace. But Jones emerges from this affair with little, if any, diminution of his power and with his prestige at the Capitol enhanced. Everybody knows the President cannot be relied on to support a subordinate who becomes unpopular or suffers a defeat. Apparently he cannot be relied upon to support one who is victorious. If Wallace was let down by Roosevelt after twice defeating Jones in Congress—the Danaher amendment last December would have accomplished the same purpose for Jones as the McKellar amendment in June—if the President will not stand up in victory for the man he himself picked in 1940 to be his successor, will any lesser official in the future dare flout Jones's wishes, even when Jones himself is flouting the President's?

What rankles most in the President's action is its specious air of fairness. Both Wallace and Jones are to be punished for violating the President's instructions by engaging in an "acrimonious public debate . . . in the public press." But those instructions against intra-Administration quarreling—overlooked by the President in a whole series of cases—permitted subordinates to speak freely before Congressional committees, and Wallace was answering false allegations made in testimony before the Senate Appropriations Committee. It was Jones who violated the agreement reached at the White House conference with Byrnes and Wallace by rushing into

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print with an attack on Wallace. It was Jones who ignored the President's wish that there be no Congressional investigation of this affair. It was Jones who arranged for an inquiry by his friend Senator George and the Senate Finance Committee and tried to stir up another inquiry in the House. Here again the innocent are punished with the guilty—ostensibly.

Actually only the innocent are punished. The BEW alone is abolished; not the RFC. Jones's friend, Leo T. Crowley, becomes head of a new Office of Economic Warfare. He does, indeed, take from the RFC those subsidiaries engaged in importing materials, but these subsidiaries remain dependent on Jones and the RFC for their funds. Byrnes is given final authority over imports in line with policies laid down by Hull. Thus a right-wing quadrumvirate—Crowley, Byrnes, Hull, and Jones—take over from Wallace and Milo Perkins. In Rayburn or Byrnes the President may think he has a running mate better suited to the political climate of 1944. But he has struck a blow, through Wallace, at all that he himself has represented in the minds of the masses. Leon Henderson, Thurman Arnold, Henry Wallace—this is the roll in recent months of the men Roosevelt has sacrificed to the right. The man who created the New Deal seems intent on destroying it before he leaves office in his flaccid retreat before the bourbons of his own party. Isn't it time for labor and the left to look around for new leadership? Newer men, notably Wallace and Willkie, are providing a courageous idealism that contrasts more and more hopefully with the appeasement policies Roosevelt is steadily pursuing in both domestic and foreign policy.

The Purgers and the President

BY FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

ALL champions of the Four Freedoms and all defenders of constitutional government will rejoice at President Roosevelt's public rebuke to Congress in his press conference of July 13 for its efforts to purge three distinguished liberals from the federal service. In recent months many Washington officials have wondered, sometimes despairingly, when and how the Chief Executive would face this issue.

The legislative inquisitors were cheated of an immediate and sweeping victory by their own intra-mural and intra-psychic confusions rather than by any warning against their endeavors from the White House. They still hope to enjoy a Roman holiday next fall. For they have now created a situation in which the President is forced to take counter-measures or surrender all along the line when Congress reconvenes. His announcement that he will submit a message at that time repudiating the bill of attainder and presumably asking Congress to reconsider is the opening gun in a long-overdue executive counter-attack on legislative vindictiveness and irresponsibility.

James Lawrence Fly and Harold L. Ickes, both among the few forthright New Dealers left in the Administration, are the ultimate targets of the purgers. As usual in such cases, they are struck at not directly but through allegedly "subversive" subordinates—in this case, Goodwin B. Watson and William E. Dodd, Jr., of the Federal Communications Commission and Robert Morss Lovett of the Department of the Interior, all slated to be ousted for being premature anti-fascists and for keeping "bad company" in their early efforts to awaken America to its peril. The same House majority which sanctioned Cox's smear campaign against the FCC voted new funds to Dies and indorsed the Kerr committee's demand for three heads. The committee's first report, incidentally, which urged Congress to take an action plainly unconstitutional, opened with a eulogy of the Constitution in the style of an old-fashioned Fourth of July oration. After repeatedly rejecting the House bill of attainder, a majority of the Senators compromised, five days before Congress adjourned, on the present formula, whereby the three men are to be deprived of their salaries after November 15 unless previously appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. On November 15, moreover, the Kerr committee will resume its inquisition, the scope and effect of which will be determined by what the President and Senate do. The Cox committee is preparing to carry on through the summer.

No member of Congress can take the position, despite Presidential reticence, that he was not advised in time of the unconstitutionality of the rider. Distinguished lawyers in both chambers, most notably Sam Hobbs of Alabama, pointed this out from the beginning, with ample citations of authorities. Said Hobbs of the final compromise: "Multiplying the number of non-judicial trials is as absurd as trying to make three or a dozen wrongs constitute a right. Congress has no more constitutional power to invade the province of the executive authority by requiring the Chief Executive to submit appointments of certain named employees to the Senate for confirmation than it has to remove them from office by more direct legislative action. Neither postponing

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the date of execution nor the grant of the possibility of another non-judicial trial adds any color or semblance of constitutionality to this latest proposal." But the reactionaries who control the House persisted in striking at the President in this furtive fashion and finally wore down the Senate's opposition.

Whether the President was wise in waiting until now to make known his views is debatable. He could have stopped Cox by asking the Department of Justice to indict the Georgia Congressman for violation of Section 113 of the United States criminal code. In March, 1942, the evidence warranting such an indictment was submitted to the Attorney General—to no avail. "Liberal" Mr. Biddle prefers to concentrate on unsuccessful efforts to deport Bridges and denaturalize Schneiderman. And President Roosevelt, having allowed the House to commit itself to support of Cox's witch-hunt, is now hampering the hunt, with results still uncertain, by forbidding certain officials to testify. The President might also have hampered, if not halted, the Dies-Kerr inquisition by encouraging all agency heads to follow the example of Fly and Ickes in defending their subordinates; by preventing the Attorney General and the so-called Interdepartmental Committee from giving aid and comfort to Dies; by insisting that the principles of the merit system be observed by the Civil Service Commission, which has repeatedly cooperated with the Dies committee in seeking to dismiss liberal officials; and by pointing out earlier to the House the unconstitutionality of the measure demanded by the Appropriations Committee and by the Kerr subcommittee. The latter step might not have altered the result in the lower chamber. But it would have rallied some timid Democrats and a number of fair-minded Republicans to oppose the purgers, and it would almost certainly have prevented the Senate from yielding to House pressure.

Having allowed the House to make the issue one of legislative pride and prejudice, the President placed himself in the position of having to choose—so his enemies hoped—between two equally painful courses: (1) that of failing to appoint Lovett, Watson, and Dodd and thereby repudiating Fly and Ickes and inviting the purgers to go to work in earnest next autumn behind a deceptive façade of "clearing" some of the small fry among those accused by Dies; or (2) reappointing the men in question, thereby defying the House, possibly risking their rejection, and perhaps precipitating another unconstitutional "trial" in the Senate—which, by the way, "tried" and "cleared" Watson more than a year ago.

In the final debate Senator McKellar, after persuading the Senate to reverse itself through what Senator Clark of Missouri termed "the most specious, the most illogical, and the most outrageous argument from his mouth" ever heard on the floor, predicted that the President would take the second course, with the Senate according the accused "every fair opportunity to be justly dealt with." Representative Taber of New York, however, reiterated the Cox charges against the FCC and declared it "incredible" that the President would appoint the men or the Senate confirm them. For the Chief Executive to have impaled himself on either horn of this dilemma would have been to play into the hands of his most unscrupulous opponents, many of whom "planned it that way."

But the President has other avenues of action open to him, as he suggested in his press statement. Cox can still be indicted. The Civil Service Commission and the FBI, whose collaboration with the purgers—now being ably exposed in *The Nation*—is known to every agency in Washington, can be reformed. Adequate machinery can be set up to protect federal employees from intimidation and persecution. Congress can, and presumably will, be asked in September to repeal its bill of attainder as an obviously unconstitutional usurpation of executive and judicial powers. Such a request, accompanied by an opinion from the Attorney General, would command a majority in the Senate. Many Representatives of both parties might well be moved to abandon their recent course of blindly following the dictates of the reactionaries who control the Rules and Appropriations committees. And if a majority of the House refuses to reconsider, the President can support Fly and Ickes in keeping the three men in office after November 15, letting them carry the case to the courts through a suit for salaries. What the Supreme Court will say on the constitutional issue is not open to doubt.

In the long run the highest judicial tribunal will, if need be, vindicate the victims of the purgers and declare the action of Congress invalid. In the short run, the issue will be one of the President's ability to persuade the House to redeem itself and to return to American standards of fair play and loyalty to the supreme law of the land. This impending test of the President's leadership will have far-reaching effects on the Civil Service, on the war effort, and on the issues of 1944. If the forces of reaction and monopoly are not to win new victories on the home front, the Commander-in-Chief must have widespread and vocal public support on this as on other pending issues. The purgers are well intrenched and determined. The coming showdown imposes a duty to speak, to organize, and to act upon all who respect the Constitution and hope for some minimum of honor and logic on Capitol Hill. To lose this battle in the legislature, even though it be won later in the courts, will be to discredit Congress as an instrument of democracy and to open the gates at home to the very forces we are sworn to destroy abroad. The battle will not be lost if liberal voters make known their wishes to their lawmakers.

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Washington Gestapo

BY XXX

II

I FIRST set eyes on a government investigator early in 1940. He was tall, bespectacled, humorless, and he eyed me sharply as he was directed to my desk in the office where I work as a minor government executive. I was cordial in my greeting and rather excited at the prospect of aiding in a man-hunt against some desperate criminal. I sat back in my chair expectantly as he produced notebook and pencil.

"We are investigating Bill Smith," the investigator said, "and I understand you can give us some information about him." I smiled incredulously. Bill Smith has been a friend of mine since we were boys together, and I know no one more law-abiding, honest, and virtuous. But to the FBI he had become a government employee under suspicion of "subversive connections or being linked to Communist organizations." This was not apparent to me immediately; I suspected it as I was being questioned, and the suspicion was confirmed later by the seventeen-page report on Smith which eventually reached our office, transmitted by J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The investigator asked me a number of routine questions about Smith. His age? How long had I known him? His education? His marital state? Then a curiously fanatical look came into his eyes. Could I tell him why Bill Smith had grown a beard? What did he have to conceal? (He was trying to hide a receding chin about which he is inordinately self-conscious.) Why did he sometimes use an alias instead of his real name? (When we were boys and played on the sand-lot baseball team we nicknamed Bill "Hicky" after some now forgotten pitching hero, and the name has stuck.) The FBI had received a report that Smith had installed powerful radio apparatus in his home. What could I say about that? (It was perfectly true that Bill's apartment was cluttered up with loudspeakers and amplifiers. But his radio was specially designed to receive high-fidelity broadcasts from a New York radio station that broadcasts record concerts. I said I believed that his set was patterned after specifications given by B. H. Haggin in his music column in *The Nation*.) Did he seem to play only Russian music on his phonograph? (I have often deplored Smith's devotion to Tschaikowsky.)

"You say Smith reads *The Nation?*" The investigator pounced on my earlier comment. "Why, yes," I replied, "I think he has subscribed to it for years." My questioner made a note of this in his notebook. "Does he subscribe to any other subversive publications?" I said I did not regard *The Nation* as subversive. What made him think it was? He changed the subject quickly. Why did Smith sometimes have Communist newspaper stories on his desk? (They came in bales from the government clipping agency, which sends us everything that appears in print on the subject with which we are concerned.) Does he make a habit of frequenting Russian or foreign eating places? (I had to confess that Smith had often praised *shashlik*, but thought it better to suppress his preference for Russian dressing on his salad.)

The investigator seemed stung by my increasing inability to take these questions as seriously as he meant them. I asked their purpose. He said that they were to determine Smith's character and Americanism. Then he became slightly bellicose. Did I think it was good Americanism to be always agitating for unionism? Did I know that Smith was reported to have said that all government employees ought to belong to unions? Was I aware that Smith was said to have supported sending medical aid to the Spanish Communists? Hadn't Smith made radical statements about our government, such as that "men like Mayor Hague are unfit to hold office"?

Seeing that my irritation was doing Smith no good, I adopted a conciliatory manner and told the investigator at length my reasons for knowing that Smith was a good citizen. But he went away no more satisfied with my answers than I was with his questions. And without having ever seen Smith he prepared a report which indicated that Smith had Communist tendencies.

In Smith's case I was easily able to show that the charges against him were completely without substance and provided no grounds for ousting him from government service. Hundreds of other government employees have been less fortunate in the same circumstances. Lacking old friends to defend them, they are out of jobs today, under the undeserved stigma of disloyalty, merely because spiteful and malicious persons have maligned them in secret to government sleuths whose standards of "good character" and "loyalty" are those of Father Coughlin and Elizabeth Dilling. Smith is still working at his job, but the dossier on him remains in government files. It is available to any reactionary Congressman who wishes to attack him or the agency for which he works.

My encounter with the investigator who scented subversion in a liking for Russian food and the "Pathétique" was followed by so many similar incidents that I made it

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my business to find out to what extent my experience was typical of that of others. The chief agencies active against government workers, I learned, are the Civil Service Commission and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. "This police work," as Civil Service Commissioner McMillan has called the investigation of government employees (1942/522),* is divided almost equally between these two agencies. The commission assumes the right to authorize the appointment of persons to the federal service or their transfer from one job to another "subject to character investigation" (1943/765). Persons already in the service against whom complaints are made, usually by an anonymous letter or telephone call to the FBI or Civil Service or by undercover informants employed by those agencies, are investigated by the FBI.

This jurisdictional line of demarcation is more apparent than real. Actually, the investigative agencies work hand in hand with each other and the witch-hunting committees of Congress. Civil Service Commissioner Arthur S. Flemming testified before the House Appropriations Committee: "We tie in with the FBI. We tie in with the Dies committee and with Military Intelligence and Naval Intelligence. There is exchange of information all around" (1943/768). At the same hearing Flemming told Joe Starnes of the Dies committee: "We have had the finest kind of cooperation from the Dies committee on the various investigations we have conducted" (1943/764).

Attorney General Biddle likewise hailed this cordial entente: "The Dies committee has been most cooperative. They have given us everything that they had" (DJ1943/18).† The FBI's area of cooperation also takes in Military and Naval Intelligence, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and contact men on "practically every law-enforcement agency" throughout the country (DJ1943/189). One of these contact men, it turned out, was the notorious labor spy and chief of the Los Angeles "red squad," William F. (Red) Hynes.

Commissioner Flemming has told Congress that he spends practically all his time now on war matters, that the investigation of government employees "is a function that I have been very much interested in," that he personally reads the reports of his investigators (1942/522, 528, 529). A passion for investigating government workers developed in the commission almost immediately after he became a member in 1939. Previously, Flemming had been associated for over four years with David Lawrence, who has often used his column to attack the personnel of the New Deal.

Before Flemming took the investigation of government workers under his wing, the commission's Division of Investigation confined itself to the verification of references, qualifications, and other statements made by applicants for government employment. For this necessary task four or five investigators and two dozen clerks and stenographers sufficed until 1939. In December of 1941 the number of investigators had grown to 400. Soon Flemming reported to Congress that he could use at least 1,000 (1943/766-67). Since then the staff of subversion-seekers has been steadily augmented.

On several occasions Flemming has discussed the philosophy of his investigations with Congress—always enveloping the subject in the pseudo-scientific lingo dear to the hearts of personnel men. His investigators are not seeking violations of law, he has explained; they are trying to detect persons of "weak character" and prevent them from serving the government and causing "bad situations" (1942/530). "It is important," he has insisted, "to do everything we can to prevent undesirable persons from getting into the service and creating difficult situations" (Ibid.). "They may have had no association with Communists, Bunds, and so on, but if they have a weak character . . . we are eliminating that type of person . . ." (1942/529-30).

"Weak character" and "difficult situations" are ingenious euphemisms, as is proved day in and day out by the investigators' questionings and the reports they write. Having read more than fifty reports of Civil Service hearings and talked to more than one hundred investigators, I can say flatly that "weak character" is double talk for liberal or progressive views, while "difficult situation" means that a person of liberal views has obtained government employment despite the vigilance of the Civil Service.

An applicant may be eliminated from the service on the basis of information obtained not only from former employers but also from unfriendly neighbors. A man who plays his radio after neighbors are in bed, or has a crying baby or barking dog, or refuses to lend money or a lawnmower to a neighbor, does so at the possible peril of his livelihood. In one case a Scotty slipped his leash and uprooted plants in a neighbor's garden. The neighbor told an investigator that the dog's owner was obviously a man of "low moral character," and this was solemnly reported by the investigative agency to the man's employers.

That rare fellow who is the darling of his neighbors, employers, foremen, superintendents, and janitors may none the less be listed in the files of the Dies committee, which are largely based on mailing lists, subscription lists, and newspaper clippings. If so, he is subject to another blackballing procedure. The Civil Service Commission values so highly the dubious files of Martin Dies—said by Representative Stefan to contain 750,000 names (DJ1943/19, 128)—that it has maintained a full-time employee in the filing rooms of the committee merely

* Hearings before the Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations on the Independent Offices Appropriation bill for 1942, p. 522. Other hearings are similarly cited.

† Hearings before the same committee on the Department of Justice Appropriation bill.

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to facilitate its use of information assembled by Dies.

We shall perhaps never know how many American citizens have been the victims of Civil Service investigative hysteria. One report to Congress, however, indicates that the number is in the tens of thousands. On December 11, 1941, Flemming told the Appropriations Committee that since June, 1940, the commission had declared "approximately 8,000 [persons]—7.5 per cent [of those investigated]—ineligible on loyalty grounds or because of connection with subversive organizations. This indicates, of course, that subversive connections are one of the primary items we take into consideration in connection with our investigations" (1943/766). It should be remembered that there is no legal definition of "subversive connections" or even of "subversion." Flemming's investigators apparently rely chiefly on their library of such texts as Elizabeth Dilling's "The Red Network," Joseph J. Mereto's "The Red Conspiracy," Lucia R. Maxwell's "The Red Juggernaut," R. M. Whitney's "The Reds in America," and Martin Dies's "The Trojan Horse in America."

The operations of the FBI against federal employees have seen a growth parallel to that of the Civil Service Commission. In January of 1942 Attorney General Biddle told Congress: "I was confirmed on September 6, 1941. One of the first things I did was to . . . [institute] a new system of examination of all alleged subversive employees in the government." Soon afterward $100,000 was made available by Congress to the FBI to finance this large-scale inquiry. A list of 1,300 government employees was obtained from the Dies committee, and according to J. Edgar Hoover, 3,700 names were immediately added to the list by the FBI (DJ1943/127). "When we hear of some particular government employee who may belong to a 'subversive' organization we add that name to this list for investigation. In other words, this list is not closed" (DJ1943/129). The source of these names was indicated by Biddle: "Of course many of these complaints are without foundation. Thus we get quite a percentage of complaints from disgruntled employees without any foundation, and many of the complaints have charged employees with belonging to certain organizations. When examined, it has developed in many instances that the employees had never heard of the organizations" (DJ1944/17).

In each year after 1941 the FBI has allocated $200,000 or more to the scrutiny of government workers' thoughts and opinions. Increasing amounts of the time of the FBI's 14,377 employees are being devoted to this purpose. The results of such a policy may be seen in the fact that in February of this year Department of Justice officials admitted that they were six to nine months behind in the investigation of fraud cases arising out of war contracts and the procurement of war materials, such as falsification of inspection records on munitions for our fighting forces and those of our Allies (DJ1944/111).

The Department of Justice investigators receive guidance both from the standard textbooks on subversion, such as "The Red Network" by the indicted Mrs. Dilling, and from a small group of officials in the department who have made a profession out of hunting what J. Edgar Hoover used to call "ultra-advanced thinkers." Hoover himself, who personally directed the notorious Palmer raids of the 1920's, has always suffered from a "radical" psychosis. He is joined in the Department of Justice by such men as L. M. C. Smith, chief of the War Policies Unit of 237 employees. This unit cooperates with the FBI in the effort "to know about and prepare for any necessary action to protect the country against any illegal activity by the leftist groups in the United States, such as the Communist Party of the United States, the Socialist Workers Party, the Industrial Workers of the World, and so forth" (DJ1944/178).

Dean Dickinson, also of the Department of Justice, has been secretary of the Interdepartmental Committee on Investigations, composed of the Civil Service Commission's legal adviser and representatives of old-line Washington agencies. On June 1 of last year he got out for the use of Washington department heads a mimeographed manual which assembled in convenient form the statutes and regulations which might facilitate firing government workers. Somewhat later he prepared, and Martin Dies put in the *Congressional Record*, memoranda which made ex parte findings against various organizations as being Communist or subversive. In these one of the most commonly applied criteria of "subversion" was opposition to the Dies committee. Of one organization it was stated that it had aided the C. I. O. "in staging a New Jersey . . . organizing rally." The National Negro Congress was singled out for criticism in the Dickinson memoranda for having indorsed the defense of the Scottsboro boys, Angelo Herndon, and Tom Mooney and for having *"been an agitational force against lynching and all forms of so-called Negro discrimination"* (my emphasis).

The anti-Negro theme of these memoranda runs through all the investigations of government workers. Washington is a Southern town, and though the Roosevelt Administration has done much to alleviate discrimination, individuals who refuse to adopt the local attitude toward Negroes invite investigation. J. Edgar Hoover, who has steadfastly refused to include Negroes among his 4,800 special agents, has a long record of hostility to Negroes. Representative Ramspeck denounced him in 1940 for playing upon the race prejudices of a committee of Southern Congressmen by saying that the Civil Service Commission had sent "white applicants to colored doctors for physical examination."

Government investigators are imbued with the same

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prejudices; they apparently consider that the most damning evidence they can present against a government worker is that he has had "mixed parties" or has entertained Negroes at dinner. Needless to say, racial bias is not only against Negroes. Anti-Semitism thrives in this atmosphere of stupid bigotry. In one instance it had to be explained to an investigator from the deep Ku Klux Klan South that membership in the Catholic church and in Catholic lay organizations did not prove the existence of a Popish plot against the security of the United States.

The quality of the work done by the FBI is unfortunately no higher than that of the Civil Service sleuths. It is about what one might expect from detectives diverted from their normal pursuit of bank robbers and white-slavers into the misty world of opinion and intellect. The *New Yorker* has reported the case of the artist seeking government employment. An FBI man assigned to investigate him suspected that he was a Communist because it was reported that his painting was in the cubist style.

The classic example of what happens when the G-men forsake the underworld of crime to spy on their fellow-workers occurred late in 1940. Representative Howard Smith, who was then, as he is now, investigating the New Deal, found in the files of the National Labor Relations Board, and put in the records of his committee, a letter marked "Personal and Confidential" over the signature of J. Edgar Hoover. The letter was a report to the NLRB that one of its employees was "known to have radical tendencies leaning toward communism." To back up this charge, Hoover reported solely that the employee had "studied anthropology" and "visited Mexico City, Mexico, to observe the presidential election in that country in July, 1940" (Washington *News*, editorial, November 30, 1940).

I remember that when that newspaper item appeared few government workers thought it funny. It is hard to laugh when pressure can be applied successfully to take away your livelihood because you play Tschaikowsky on your phonograph, or read *The Nation*, or argue against lynching, or make cubist drawings, or study anthropology.

"Subversive" is a vague word. But it is being used freely in Washington as a club with which to beat liberals out of town. Attorney General Biddle, who presides over one of the agencies harassing government workers, gave the game away last February when he said to Congress: "What is 'subversive'? I do not know. I do not think anyone knows definitely. . . . I have had only a terrible headache" (DJ1944/21).

Biddle is not the only one.

[*This is the second and concluding part of an article on the inquisition in Washington by a necessarily anonymous government executive.*]

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

AMERICAN INDUSTRIALISTS are in a state of unprecedented uncertainty. Their lawyers tell them one thing, their consciences tell them another, and always they are haunted by fear of the Roosevelt Big Stick. Not overequipped with brains in the first place, their immediate predicament is truly pathetic, and it would be easy to sympathize with them if all one's sympathies were not already exhausted over the poor devils who do their work and buy their goods. —*July 5, 1933.*

THAT THE ADMINISTRATION, through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, is lending $4,000,000 to Soviet Russia for the purchase of American cotton is doubly heartening news. For economically it points to the resumption of trade with Russia on a large scale, and politically it points to long-overdue recognition.—*July 12, 1933.*

ALFRED HUGENBERG, the man who was chiefly responsible for the appointment by Hindenburg of Adolf Hitler to the Chancellorship of the Reich, has received his walking papers. His party, the National Front, . . . has been forced to announce its voluntary dissolution. . . . The owner of more than a hundred newspapers has been retired to the darkness of political obscurity, a hopelessly discredited man. —*July 12, 1933.*

IT IS OFTEN and pertinently asked what the United States Supreme Court will say about the constitutionality of some of the Roosevelt measures. Certainly there are at least three reactionary old men on that bench who would take profound satisfaction in standing by their plutocratic concepts of society if they knew the mob was battering at the door. . . . Congress could pass an act requiring members of the court to retire upon passing the age of retirement. . . . If this reporter knows anything at all about the temper of the present Administration, it will never permit the whole economic structure of this country to be disrupted and demoralized because less than half a dozen dyspeptic old men are determined to uphold precedents established before the invention of the telephone.—PAUL Y. ANDERSON, *July 19, 1933.*

TAMMANY, corrupt, exposed, but still unchastened, once more faces a mayoralty election. Never in the history of New York City, however, has it incurred the resentment and wrath of so many and so diverse foes. . . . One man of incorruptible integrity, a vigorous fighter with practical political experience, stands preeminent as a candidate. He is Fiorello H. LaGuardia.—ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS, *July 19, 1933.*

THE NAZI ASSAULT on reason is a challenge to the whole world. . . . Fortunately a constructive opportunity is provided. Alvin Johnson, director of the New School for Social Research, . . . has formulated a plan to bring to this country the outstanding scholars of Germany, victims of Nazi obscurantism, and to establish them here in an autonomous "University in Exile."—*July 26, 1933.*

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The Pacific Offensive

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

THE reopening of the campaign in the Southwest Pacific in early July was a relief to many who feared that the absorption of the United States in the European phase of the war would allow Japan opportunity to exploit its conquests and become unbeatable. The long delay in launching an offensive can be ascribed to several causes. There was first the preoccupation with the war in Europe, the tendency to underrate the importance of Japan. Secondly, operations in the Pacific, because of the distances involved, require more time for preparation than elsewhere. Thirdly, the quality of our strategic thinking, characterized by extreme caution and unwillingness to risk heavy casualties, has drawn out the time of preparation. When the Guadalcanal attack, supposedly a limited operation, turned into a long sanguinary struggle which at times we came very close to losing, the conservatives among our war planners insisted upon the most thorough preparation for any further step. The fighting in New Guinea and the Aleutians was mainly defensive in character.

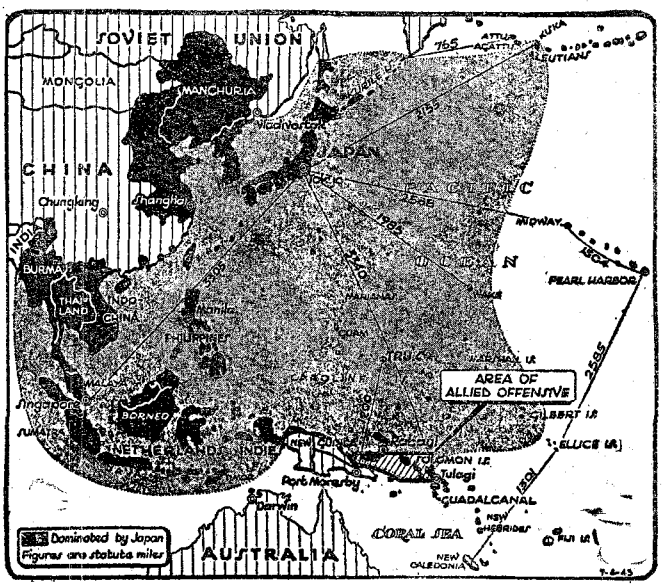
Our slowness in opening a new campaign, while it has permitted the Japanese time to consolidate their gains, has not been an unmixed evil. Amphibious warfare demands large naval forces, a considerable quantity of merchant shipping, an adequate air force, and well-trained if comparatively small land units. With all these we are now much better supplied in the Southwest Pacific than we were a year ago. Our own bases, moreover, have been overprotected to the point where they are very nearly invulnerable. And in addition the continued aerial skirmishing has built up a decisive qualitative superiority in the air.

The three initial steps of the current campaign were taken with very little risk. Nassau Bay on the north coast of New Guinea was well covered by Allied air power. The landing of troops there near Salamaua and Lae, combined with an Australian advance from the south, was a repetition of the tactics which destroyed a small force of Japanese in the same area a year ago. Owing to the absence of enemy troops the occupation of the Trobriand and Woodlark Islands likewise represented no great feat. Only in the central Solomons was serious resistance encountered, and there the impact of surprise, the quick unloading of troops, and the adequate air and naval coverage assured success, though not without losses. It is reasonable to assume that the American forces are more adequate than they were at Guadalcanal and that the Japanese will hesitate to risk large forces at Munda in attempts at rescue which are likely to prove fruitless.

Rabaul is commonly viewed as the ultimate objective of the campaign. But it is 400 miles distant from the new Allied footholds. Unless, therefore, the Allies can neutralize it by bombing they are likely to have to reduce first the intermediate bases of Gasmata, Kieta, and Buin.

The difficulties of approaching Japan from the south are made apparent by a glance at the map. The reduction of Rabaul, which would doubtless require heavy fighting and considerable time, would bring the United Nations only one step closer to victory. Truk in the Carolines, 800 miles farther north, much stronger than Rabaul and beyond convenient bombing range, is the next base from which opposition might be expected. Unfortunately Truk is not an isolated strong point but one of a group of "stationary plane carriers" within supporting distance of each other. To deal adequately with this nest of enemy strongholds would require a campaign to the west based on Hawaii. And Truk itself is still more than 2,000 miles from Japan. Its loss would be a considerable one for the enemy, but many other island bases would still guard his mainland, and we should be too far away to cut his lines of communication to his southern colonies. Thus unless the Japanese risked most of their forces in an immediate showdown, many more steps would be required before a campaign along this line could pay large dividends.

One other line of approach from the south has possibilities should the Allied high command be willing to run the risk of by-passing Truk. First New Guinea would have to be completely cleared of the enemy and made into an offensive base, and then the Molucca Islands and Celebes, directly west, must be recaptured.



Courtesy New York *Times*

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An amphibious attack might then be made on the southern islands of the Philippines, only a little more than 200 miles distant. Such a move would almost surely bring about a decisive battle, for the reestablishment of American strength in the Philippines would drive a wedge between Japan and its other conquests. If the move succeeded, the recovery of the former Netherlands Indies would be well on the way. At the same time, the risks involved in penetrating so deeply into enemy waters without first reducing all nearby bases are so great that such a plan of action is not likely to be considered until our superiority in the Pacific is further increased.

The southern approach to Japan did not recommend itself to strategists prior to 1941 and was adopted principally to safeguard Australia. With so large an investment of force already in this area we have hesitated to embark on other lines of attack. Nevertheless, the southern route from the United States to Japan is not only the longest and most roundabout but through the greatest concentrations of enemy strength. Since the purpose of safeguarding Australia has already been achieved, offensives in the South Pacific should be somewhat tentative. If the enemy opposition makes our losses disproportionate to gains, we should shift our attack elsewhere.

Unfortunately, we are as yet far from the point where we can undertake a major offensive to knock Japan out of the war. In the North Pacific we have made headway in preparing Alaska as an offensive base. The completion of the Alcan Highway and the development of an oil industry in northern Canada greatly add to this region's self-sufficiency for defense or offense. The slight threat Japanese occupation of Kiska offered has been dissipated by the taking of Attu and the establishment of neighboring American air bases. But if our defenses in the Aleutians are in better shape, we have as yet shown no readiness to carry the war to the enemy in this region.

The dearth of action in the Central Pacific, the area picked before the war as the most likely scene of a decisive struggle, has been surprising. A big offensive in this region may be undertaken in the future, but if so its preparations are being well concealed.

With the liquidation of the ill-starred British and Japanese offensives in Burma and Central China, respectively, the situation in southeastern Asia has reverted to a stalemate that is unfavorable to us because it leaves Allied territory securely in Japanese possession. Until successful land offensives reopen adequate supply lines into China, the so-called short cut of the air enthusiasts, bombing of Japanese industrial centers from Chinese bases, must remain a dream. Whether Siberian bases will in the future be made available is still doubtful.

After more than a year and a half of war the position of the Allies with regard to the Japanese is still poor, though we have made great progress in turning out the tools of war and have stopped all recent attempts of the enemy to extend his gains. Of course our general position in the Far East is better because we are measurably closer to victory in Europe. Also the war of attrition has recently been in our favor. But the big offensives which are needed to defeat Japan are not yet in sight and perhaps will not be attempted until Hitler is defeated. However, the present campaign, despite its limited scope, is to be welcomed because it interrupts Japan's unhindered development of the second greatest colonial empire in the world.

In the Wind

A RECENT ADVERTISEMENT inserted in the New York *Times* by Freedom House, asking support for a campaign to promote a world organization to enforce peace, carried the notation that contributions would be deductible from income tax. The New York *Daily News,* without mentioning the fact that Freedom House is an educational organization, interprets it thus: "It looks to us as if some enthusiastic world-stater in the Treasury Department gave Freedom House the green light on this point."

CONVERSATION PIECE: An American business man was recently sitting in a Helsingfors restaurant, talking with a friend in English. A Finn at a nearby table called over, in Finnish, "Hey, you, stop talking English. Don't you know we're at war with England?" The American and his friend ignored him. The Finn then came over to their table with his fists clenched and said, "I told you to stop talking English!" The American quietly replied, "I'm not talking English. I'm talking American." There was a pause while it sank in, and then the Finn, completely deflated, murmured, "Oh, I'm sorry," and walked away.

IT APPEARS that the migration of Negroes to war-production centers is not an economic phenomenon. The *Union News* of Towson, Maryland, an anti-union, anti-New Deal paper, explains it thus: "Certain Washington politicians back of the fourth-term drive hope to pack Maryland with a large number of Negro workers, place them in good-paying jobs and comfortable government-built homes, have them declare their intentions to become Maryland citizens before November, and swing Maryland, which is doubtful, to the New Deal column."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Food rations in Holland represent a cut of 50 per cent in food value from the normal Dutch diet before the war. . . . In Czechoslovakia, home of the giant Bata shoe works, a Nazi-controlled newspaper announces, "The production of hand-made shoes has been revived, and skilled shoemakers are wanted." . . . Newspapers throughout Alsace have published the following public notice: "Philippe Schwall of Strasbourg, farmer, has been arrested for talking French. Some Alsatians seem to think that they need not pay any attention to the rule against speaking French. Those who take this attitude had better remember that the National Socialists' patience is not inexhaustible."

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The Balkan Gateway

EVERYONE agrees that the Allied landings in Sicily were a marvelous accomplishment. Time will tell whether the political preparations for the first assault on Italy match General Eisenhower's splendid job. So far the course of events has nearly always followed the same design: for every step forward in the military conduct of the war there has been a step backward in the domain of political warfare. It was not encouraging that at the very hour when the invasion of Europe began, France was declared non-existent by the most powerful leader of the United Nations. And even the Roosevelt-Churchill proclamation of July 16 offering the Italians an "honorable peace" leaves plenty of room for doubt about the actual intentions of the Allies. With the precedent of North Africa in mind, we cannot assume that the most generous proposals to the Italian people will not end in some new formula of compromise arranged among the Vatican, the House of Savoy, and the American occupation authorities. More reassuring to the Italian people than offers and promises would have been the appearance in Sicily of an Italian Free Legion bearing the flag of anti-fascism. Randolfo Pacciardi, who was chosen by the great congress of Italian democrats in Montevideo to lead such a legion, was ready to go to Sicily. Allied military authorities in North Africa favored the plan. It was turned down in Washington.

Any day the Allied armies may land on the Balkan peninsula, but no one has heard of any serious attempt to enlist the Balkan peoples in a real war for democracy. In 1917 Wilson had something to offer the peoples of the Balkans. Years later it was easy to dismiss the Wilsonian program with cheap sarcasm. But no man who remembers the real sentiment of that time will deny that the Fourteen Points gave a deep hope, a vision of political freedom, to peoples striving to throw off the yoke of the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish empires. Today the Balkans find themselves in the same state of moral confusion that exists in the United Nations. They have no line, no pattern to follow. Their internal divisions have been exploited by shrewd and persistent Axis propaganda. Their governments on the spot are fascist and collaborationist. Their governments in exile, weakened by discord and reactionary ideas, are unable to keep pace with the popular movements at home.

The situation would be dark indeed were it not for the guerrilla armies. As has been true before in the history of nations, the hope of salvation is found in the masses. Recognition of the guerrillas as the soundest support the armies of liberation will receive is the prerequisite of intelligent political war in the Balkans. The United Nations must make allies of the guerrillas from the start, must consider their feelings and claims—not try to extinguish the flames by the back-fire of a reactionary counter-revolution.

I refer particularly to the Yugoslav and Greek guerrillas, who constitute a real fighting force against the Axis in the Balkans. To deal efficiently with the political problems attendant upon their existence one must first examine the political processes and trends in the countries which gave them birth.

The difficulties of Greece are simpler than those of Yugoslavia. Greece exists as a political, religious, and ethnic entity. Its main problem is the form of government to be permanently established. Though Greece is officially a monarchy, the overwhelming desire of the people is for a republic. The underground movement is organized and directed chiefly by republican Venizelists, or democrats, who know what kind of Greece they want after liberation from Italian-German slavery. By their side stand elements still more to the left. The essential character of the Greek guerrillas is expressed in the struggle against fascism. In recent months the guerrillas have become so strong in certain regions—as in Thessaly —that the occupation forces have had to withdraw.

The people of Greece, whose heroism is constantly extolled in editorials, poems, and speeches, but whose political ideas seem not to interest the leaders of the United Nations, did not feel themselves represented by the clique of reactionary and appeasing ministers who until recently constituted the Greek government in exile. At the head of that government was King George, the most unpopular of the ruling monarchs after Victor Emmanuel. His rule has never been accepted by a majority of the Greeks, or even by a large minority. Finally the forces of resistance within Greece would no longer tolerate this misrepresentation abroad. As a result of their pressure, the government in London was obliged to dissolve, and a new one was set up in Egypt, nearer the homeland. In the new Cabinet is the son of Venizelos, Colonel Sofocles Venizelos, who accepted the Ministry of Navy and Aviation.

It was the first political victory of the guerrillas. And the victory was proof that the Greek government in exile realized that when the Greek people are free they must be allowed to choose the kind of government they want. They will probably chose a republic. Their democratic

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past will help them to create a new democracy, without civil war. If the reactionaries of the United Nations do not interfere, Greece will certainly offer constructive support to a future Balkan confederation.

The other great force in the Balkans is formed by the Yugoslavs, or southern Slavs. It is a powerful force, but it is undermined by internal dissensions. Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes are living through one of the greatest tragedies in their history. The existence of Yugoslavia as a nation is in jeopardy.

The idea of Yugoslavia as a political entity arose in the nineteenth century, in the intellectual circles of Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia. It was an intellectual concept, not a product of popular feeling. The masses never accepted it wholeheartedly. At first they looked upon it with indifference. Years of dictatorship made the Yugoslav government hateful to them. It brought to the masses not the freedom their leaders had promised but a regime held together by police and military, with power concentrated in the hands of a few.

One man, at least, saw the future clearly. As early as 1918 Stefan Radich, the great Croat leader, demanded a federalist democracy, including Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and Bulgarians, which would grant equal political, social, and economic rights to all. In the election of 1919 Radich obtained 75 per cent of the Croatian votes. His popularity spread through the Balkans, but he was murdered in the Belgrade parliament in 1928. The relations between Serbs and Croats then became still more tense. In this atmosphere of passion Dr. Vlatko Machek courageously pursued the path marked out by Radich. His efforts were partially rewarded by the signing of the Serb-Croat agreement of August, 1939.

It was an important document, and a great historical gesture. By signing the pact the Croats, after an opposition of twenty years, supported Yugoslavia in its hour of peril and rejected the tempting offers of Hitler and Mussolini. Moreover, their action in that crucial hour pointed to the creation of a Balkan and Central European federation after the war.

But for the moment the agreement cannot perform miracles. The war found Yugoslavia politically disunited and morally unprepared. That explains its quick and surprising defeat. Great as was the material and technical superiority of the German armies, the military collapse of Yugoslavia was due as much to the incapacity of its general staff, which had spent its energy in building a military dictatorship over the Yugoslav people instead of preparing against an aggressor.

Once the military defeat of Yugoslavia was achieved, the Nazis proceeded to conquer the country from within, reviving and abetting old political differences among racial groups. In Croatia the majority of the people remained faithful to the leaders of the Croat Peasant Party, to Machek and his ideal of a democratic, federalist peasant state. A small minority, headed by Pavelich, Slavko Kvaternik, and Mile Budak, succeeded, with the help of Germany and Italy, in creating a so-called independent state of Croatia. They offered the crown to the Duke of Spoleto, cousin of the King of Italy, a man so passionately uninterested in Croatian affairs that he has not yet found the courage to visit his kingdom.

When the Germans attacked Russia, Himmler asked Pavelich to initiate a large-scale massacre of all Serbs living in Croatia. According to reliable reports, 300,000 people were killed by the Ustachis, a Croat fascist organization, and by the Italians and Germans. During the butchery Italians and Germans were everywhere with cameras. The photographs were published in both Zagreb and Belgrade and smuggled out of the country with the complicity of the occupation authorities. Serbian bishops wrote to the German authorities asking their intervention in stopping the mass murders. An appeal sent by Bishop Benjamin to General Dönkelmann reached the United States through diplomatic channels and was published by the Serbian extremist newspaper *Srbobran,* in Pittsburgh. Between the Serbs and Croats a bitter controversy arose, which was what the conquerors wanted.

The Ustachis not only killed Serbs but also Jews and nationalist Yugoslavs, and then blamed the Serbs for the killing. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, where the population is made up of Serbs, Croats, and Moslems, this fratricidal war has become so horrible that it will probably appear in history as one of the darkest pages of the war.

The situation would have become absolutely desperate had it not been for the appearance of the guerrillas. The rise of the guerrillas, known under the various names of "partisans," "green cadres," and "woodsmen," united the Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian masses in the same movement of revolt. It started in Serbia, spread through Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia. It surged to the Dalmatian coast through the Dinaric Alps, to the doors of Trieste, and to the Dalmatian island which the Croat poet, Vladimir Nazor, still fighting with the guerrillas at the age of seventy-six, described as "the indestructible rock against which the ships of occupation will smash themselves to pieces."

The guerrillas would have stamped out all the Hitler intrigues and defeated the Axis armies of occupation if violent conflict had not broken out between those led by Mihailovich and the independent groups generally lumped together under the name of partisans. It was most unfortunate that at a moment of hope the government in exile made Mihailovich Minister of War.

Mihailovich accepted the view of the partisans proclaimed by Germans, Italians, Ustachis, and separatist propaganda bureaus—that they were Communists and anarchists, that their leaders, veterans of the Spanish civil war, had returned to the Balkans only to spread Com-

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munist propaganda. Mihailovich's Chetniks in Bosnia-Herzegovina, aided by the Italians, fought against the partisans. Not only did Croat Ustachis kill Serbs in that battle, but Serbian Chetniks killed anti-fascist Serbs and Croats. Mihailovich did not understand the game of his enemies. The propaganda of Hitler and Mussolini, given impetus by Dimitrije Ljotich, ideological leader of Serbian orthodox fascism, succeeded in convincing Mihailovich and his political advisers that in the struggle between fascism and communism Serbia and its people must fight the Communist menace.

It is interesting to note the division of opinion between native fascists and anti-fascists in regard to a united Yugoslavia and the future of the Balkans. All fascists—Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes—are against the creation of a democratic federal state. On the other hand, the guerrillas have resurrected the idea of a united Yugoslavia, giving it a new social content and a more progressive interpretation. Even from the lips of an enemy comes confirmation. In a dispatch to the *Stampa* of Turin, Alfio Russo, its Balkan correspondent, wrote that the Serb-Croat agreement of 1939, which seemed doomed after the fall of Yugoslavia, had been revived everywhere by the guerrillas.

Here in the United States only the military deeds of the guerrillas are reported. Very few people know that, just as in France and other countries where the underground is strong, the forces of resistance are engaged in a vital and continuous discussion of the fundamental questions of the future. A good number of the guerrillas feel that the best solution for the Balkans would be a federation composed of (1) Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, (2) Bulgarians, (3) Greeks, (4) Rumanians, (5) Albanians, and (6), if possible, even Turks. This federation should and could be the point of junction and cooperation between Russia and the Western democracies—Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States. It could be flanked by a Danubian federation composed of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and Austria. Together the two federations would form a union of small agricultural and industrialized states, strong enough to stem the tide of the German *Drang nach Osten* and to check a complete Russification of the Balkans—although Russia would always exercise an important influence.

The guerrillas have thought and dreamed of all that. But the Yugoslav government in exile has not heeded the democratic awakening of the people.

The situation of the Yugoslav government in exile, which the conflict between Mihailovich and the partisans had already made critical, became suddenly worse when the Ban of Croatia, Ivan Subasich, sent a letter to the Allies denouncing the anti-Yugoslav policy of some elements in the Yugoslav government. The British understood the danger. They at once got in touch with Mihailovich and asked him to collaborate with the partisans. He refused. The British threatened not to send him any more help, and the Russians demanded from the Yugoslav government a clarification of Mihailovich's attitude toward the partisans. The government did nothing. The Prime Minister, Jovanovich, received the Russian note but did not communicate its contents to his colleagues; he answered directly through his military Cabinet. Some of the governments in exile make good use of the fact that they are disciplined neither by a parliament nor by public opinion.

Things could not go on that way. Before leaving for Washington in the spring, Winston Churchill sent a letter to Jovanovich calling for a real Yugoslav government with a clearly defined policy and, if necessary, for the removal of Mihailovich. Jovanovich kept the letter in his pocket for more than two weeks, but was finally obliged to show it to his colleagues. The crisis brought about the fall of the government, and a new one was installed under the presidency of Milos Trifunovich, the leader of the Radical Party.

This government follows a federalist pattern. It includes all the Serbian parties—except one representing the Serbs in Croatia—and the Croats and Slovenes. For the first time, Slovene liberals, like Professor B. Furlan, are in the Cabinet. But even though its composition is an improvement on the previous government, it is still on the whole reactionary. The best man among the Serbian members is the Foreign Minister, M. Grol. He was against appeasement; he supported the Loyalist cause during the Spanish war; he is for an understanding with Russia. The black sheep of the Cabinet is General Zivkovich, a complete reactionary, the dictator of January 6, 1929, the Primo de Rivera of Serbia.

The King, too young and surrounded by a camarilla of young ultra-nationalist officers, nevertheless made a significant statement on St. Vitus's Day. He promised that Yugoslavia would be "a real popular commonwealth of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes," and he went on to say that "the internal organization that this commonwealth will have will be decided by the real representatives of the people in the liberated fatherland." The King expressed his admiration "for all national fighters, regardless of the label under which they are fighting." He also mentioned the resistance of the guerrillas to the Germans and alluded to the partisans.

That was a promising change of tone. But action must follow. The new government has but a short time to carry out its double task: within the country to achieve unity between the partisans and Mihailovich, obliging the latter to discipline himself; and in the realm of foreign affairs to reach an agreement with Russia. Until that is done Yugoslavia will not be politically ripe for an Allied invasion; only confusion and disunity among the anti-Axis forces will meet the Allied armies.

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

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Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

"I SHARPLY disapprove of the sentimentality of many Germans toward foreigners," said the Gauleiter of Saxony, Herr Mutschmann, a few months ago—to be exact, on March 8. "I disapprove particularly of any sentimentality toward the foreign workers in the Reich. These people have been our enemies." In the same week the other provincial Gauleiters seem to have uttered similar warnings. And ever since then "false sentimentality" or "inappropriate sympathy" for the so-called "foreign workers" has been a constantly recurring topic in German domestic propaganda.

On April 2 the *Essener Nationalzeitung* gave us some concrete information about this reprehensible sentimentality. "No Pity" was the heading of an article which contained the following passage:

> One frequently hears the words "After all, they too are human beings"—for instance, when a food shop or bakery refuses to sell rationed goods to foreign workers, especially those from the east, without coupons. There are actually people who so far forget their duty as to give away some of their own coupons in their desire to seem particularly humane. Surely it is not necessary to emphasize that such "gestures" are punishable. Let there be no false pity.

The warnings and the threats of punishment, however, have apparently made no impression on persons who wish to be "particularly humane." Two months later, on June 20, the *Essener Nationalzeitung* came back to the theme with even greater vehemence.

> Complaints about foreign, especially eastern, workers who attract attention by their persistent begging in food shops have lately increased to a degree necessitating energetic counter-measures. All shopkeepers must be on their guard against this nuisance. Misplaced sympathy and ignorance of actual conditions unfortunately often lead them to comply with the foreigners' ridiculous requests. In addition, short-sighted kindly persons try to influence them to sell the foreigners food without coupons. . . . Anyone giving these foreigners food or food coupons, however, merely aggravates the nuisance, which has become especially annoying in shops run by women. Public begging by foreign workers can be stopped only if a deaf ear is turned to their demands. When necessary, people should telephone the police or the nearest party branch so that vigorous action may be taken.

Incidentally these exhortations afford us a glimpse of the pitiable state of the foreign workers. But the fact that some sympathy and humanity are often shown them —too often, according to the newspaper—is also worthy of mention. Considering the circumstances under which this kindness is shown—the suffering caused in the province by the heavy air raids, the sacrifices involved in gifts of food, the comparative publicity of such acts, the continuing propaganda against them coupled with threats of punishment—it is one of the more encouraging signs.

During the weeks in which the invasion of Sicily was being prepared, the German public had a perfectly clear idea of the general situation. It understood it so well that the propaganda authorities often considered it the best policy to interpret quite frankly the people's mood. A high point in frankness was reached on June 20 by the *Brüsseler Zeitung*, a paper officially founded for Germans in Belgium:

> It would be absurd to deny [it said] that this forty-sixth month of the war has brought heavier burdens than any one of the forty-five months that are past. Let us look the facts in the face and not attempt to sugar-coat the pill. . . . We have had no good news for some months; events and factors which could have made the war take a favorable turn have vanished into thin air. There have been setbacks and lulls. We were deeply moved by the tragic climax of the Tunisian campaign. An old strategic plan of our enemies—to attack the underbelly of the Axis from the south—seems on the verge of being accomplished. The losses which our U-boats have been inflicting on enemy shipping have slowed down. The enemy can boast that production exceeds sinkings. Finally, the enemy air force is dealing violent blows to the cities of the Ruhr, while German attacks on British targets fail to correspond to the retaliation predicted for an unspecified date. . . . Never has the enemy threatened us more seriously, and never has he seemed so well prepared to carry out his threats.
>
> All this has a certain physical and psychological effect on the German people. We have the impression for the first time that the initiative, which during most of this war has seemed to be exclusively ours, is as it were on furlough, and that others are trying on those seven-league boots which so far have been worn only by us. Since we Germans are better fitted by temperament to attack and storm forward than to remain on the defensive, the situation is a novel one for us.

The passage gives us an authentic picture of German thoughts about the war on the eve of Sicily. But one should not imagine that these thoughts are being translated with any energy into feeling, much less into action. They seem rather to induce weariness and paralysis. The current mood was described on June 8 by the German correspondent of the Swedish *Vestmanslands Lanstidning* as follows:

> In Germany there is hardly any discussion of the war or its course. The civilian population goes around completely apathetic; neither good news nor bad, neither joy nor sorrow, makes a deep impression on them any longer.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Third Growth

The little pine grove, trimmed of its ground branches,
Lets the eye through, a thread among those needles
That sew a green cloud fast to fern and rock.
In their own shade the stems, so black and small,
Are pillars of weak steel; yet nerved enough,
And tempered, to attach for soft eternity
Feathers to earth, wind music to the swell
Of soundless, of grim granite; which the drop
Of other needles, browning, will spread over,
As the grove grows, with carpet for fox feet,
With compost for silence. So the trunks,
Increasing, will be columns that hold up
A weightless, waving mountain; and no man
Will speak of stitches then. This is the time
To see it, to send vision dipping through,
And then downhill by meadows to the Hollow's
Bottom where the bone white steeple stands.
This is the century for that. Dead villages
Glisten. And the pine begins again.

MARK VAN DOREN

Anywhere Out of the World

FOUR QUARTETS. By T. S. Eliot. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

ANY work by T. S. Eliot is bound to be interesting in a complicated way. But this new work compels, in me at least, a greater complexity of impression than any other of Eliot's works. I speak thus of my own feeling because I know how differently, and with what unmixed admiration, many other readers have greeted these new poems. Yet at the tenth reading I have the same mixed feeling, and this after having tried to force in myself the delight of those who find these poems just what they should be throughout.

Two extended passages, a sestina made more difficult and extraordinary by rhyme and a miraculous exercise in the idiom and method of "The Divine Comedy," are equal, at least from the standpoint of technique, to any modern poetry. Throughout these poems there is also the invention of new rhythms, of unimagined possibilities in the movement of language, which has always marked Eliot. He is perhaps more original and inventive in rhythm than any other poet in English.

But when this is said, the weakness of other long passages is underscored. These passages are of two kinds. In one, the poet uses conventional forms in an effort to write the kind of lyric which is traditional to English poetry, and here what is to me the inadequacy comes chiefly from the choice of image and phrase: the earth as a hospital "endowed by the ruined millionaire" lacks the permanent surprise, shock, and uniqueness of—to use the used instance, permanently fresh—"April is the cruellest month." Then too the images seem *made*, self-imitative, forced; they have the look of the artificial, and when they are intended as emblematic or established symbols, they look merely decorative.

The other kind of unsuccessful passage is composed of blocks of long lines very close to the rhythm of prose, like much of "The Family Reunion," and deliberately direct, matter of fact, and prosaic. Nothing is more important to modern poetry than such a use of the prosaic for its poetic quality, for nothing else can give the poet the thickness, the particularity, the full actuality of modern experience, which will justify his avowed emotions and beliefs. The prosaic versification here is so much better than the same kind of thing in "The Family Reunion," partly because of a greater use of overflow, that it may mark a stage in the mastery of a new style. But in itself, it remains weak and wrong, not only in the triteness of the phrasing—"we have gone on trying," for example—but in the effort, self-consciousness, and falsity of tone. If one hears a man *trying* to be modest, sincere, or frank, and if one hears the trying, rather than the modesty, sincerity, or frankness as such, one has an analogy for what is wrong with these passages both as language and as emotion:

> So here I am, in the middle way, having had twenty years,
> Twenty years largely wasted, the years of *l'entre deux guerres*—
> Trying to learn to use words, and every attempt
> Is a wholly new start, and a different kind of failure
> Because one has only learnt to get the better of words
> For the thing one no longer has to say or the way
> One is no longer disposed to say it.

It is not enough, in a poem, to say "I am unhappy" or "I have failed"; and especially in the poetry of direct statement the commonplace or colloquial statement must be lifted up to a new light, by one device or another, so that it is not merely itself, but something penetrated and understood as a symbol. The touchstones for this profound usage are Laforgue, Marianne Moore, William Carlos Williams—and Eliot himself, but not in these poems. And then the choice of instances in these passages, "fruit, periodicals, business letters," "even a very good dinner," marks a like relaxation of the poet's sensibility, one which suggests that he is at such times echoing the idiom he himself discovered. Too much is often made of the sheer texture of the language, when modern poetry is examined; but here it is not merely a matter of texture: the crucial instant of insight is betrayed by the language. Thus, at one important moment one gets such a weak play and shift with the meaning of a phrase as "Not fare well, But fare forward, voyagers," when in "Ash Wednesday," at a like moment, the poem rose to such a phrase as "Teach me to care, and not to care."

However, there can be no doubt about the satisfaction and the success to be found in the modified sestina, the Dantesque interview, and the organized movement of the

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poems. Especially the encounter with a dead master just before morning in London in war time strikes one with such astonishment and admiration that some grand rhetorical statement seems proper; so that, as Cocteau declared of the motion pictures, "At last the theater has an airplane!" one wishes to say, "At last Dante has been translated into English and into modern life." This is literally true in that Eliot has accomplished the effect of *terza rima* in English by alternating masculine and feminine endings without rhyme, thus evading the comparative poverty of rhyme in English and thus instructing future translators and poets. But the renovation of Dante is more than a matter of versification:

> Over the asphalt where no other sound was
> Between three districts whence the smoke arose
> I met one walking, loitering or hurried,
> As if blown towards me like the metal leaves
> Before the urban dawn wind unresisting.
> And as I fixed upon the down-turned face
> That pointed scrutiny with which we challenge
> The first-met stranger in the waning dusk
> I caught the sudden look of some dead master. . . .

And the organized movement of the four poems makes the title of quartets denote more than the stock analogy of music with poetry. Perhaps late quartets would be still more exact, for as in those of Beethoven, the movement from part to part goes from a passage lyrical, quick, joyous, and exalted; to a passage suddenly slow, turned in upon itself by variation or repetition of the same thought, hovering over divided parts of the same symbol or idea; harsh, flat, discursive, and tortuous; and then once more quickened to certainty, difficult conviction, and the explicit declaration and direct chant of belief.

The belief, made clear by the use of phrases and doctrines in the Bhagavad-Gita, Heraclitus, and St. John of the Cross, is that the only meaningful event in history is the Incarnation, and all else—"the moment in the rose-garden," the place of one's forbears, the practice of poetry, and the whole of one's life—illusory, deceptive, empty, vain, and without meaning except in relation to the Incarnation. Seen in that light, everything still remains false and of little worth, except as a phase to be endured. All that is natural and merely human contradicts itself, love is not love, time is not time, the end of life is the beginning of life, exaltation and despair are the same thing, all desire, effort, and action must be transformed into passages of patient waiting—"waiting without hope"—to be wholly disengaged from everything in this life. Here, as in Eliot's poetry from the start, what declares itself above all is an obsessing desire to be free from "birth, copulation, and death," to be "divested of the love of created things," to be utterly out of the world. This rejection and renunciation are dominant to such an extent that the affirmation of belief seems only lyrical after-thought. The Incarnation is present for the sake of the rejection of this life, not the renunciation because of the Incarnation. And this suggests once more that Buddhism is perhaps a doctrine just as well suited as Christianity to the poet's mind; perhaps better suited, since the doctrine of reincarnation in some form of natural life becomes true and inexhaustible damnation, given Eliot's vision. To say this is to recognize that the poet's hatred and rejection of this life is something beyond any belief whatever. It must have some personal and private source, but it exists for all readers both as a profound criticism of life and as a necessary phase in the life of the spirit. If there is a phase superior to it, as most Christians, at least, must suppose (how different is the Christianity of St. Francis or Aquinas), the rejection and renunciation which Eliot celebrates is prior and not to be evaded, if one is to be in the full sense a human being. To see that this is true, one has only to remember such very different actualities as the moral disillusionment of our time and the present war; and in literature, such wholly different authors as Céline and Rilke, for "The Duino Elegies" have a close resemblance to these poems, and these poems, however different in subject matter from Céline's exhaustion of cynicism and despair, are also a journey to the end of the night, inadequate only when the journey is discussed and commended, and not endured.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

Bazaine and Pétain

THE TWO MARSHALS. By Philip Guedalla. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.

THE obvious has to be said: let us get it said quickly. The youngish Old Master is still his coruscating self. He can entitle his last three chapters *Vidi, Vici, Vichy*. He has evolved a style halfway between Oscar Wilde's and Lytton Strachey's. There is a Guedallese as there is a Carlylese; and both are acquired tastes. He is a conscientious artist, and takes tremendous pains with his baroque instrument. A superb climax like "the painted army of a painted Emperor" is reached after a patent strain. But he enjoys the effort, and so do we. We like to see a pyramid of acrobats get into place; and when they jump down with a smile, we do not grudge our applause.

Under its Churrigueresco ornamentation, the book is a solid piece of historical work. There is no particular reason why "the two Marshals" should be Bazaine and Pétain. The only link between the two is that, after the defeat of 1870, France picked Bazaine out as a scapegoat; whereas in 1939 Pétain assigned that sacrificial role to Republican France: *lucus a non lucendo.* The natural parallel would have been MacMahon and Pétain. But if the link between the two parts is ever so slender, each is excellent on its own merits.

Bazaine's biography is the fuller, and by far the better. It is a spirited report of a long, varied, and, except at the very last, honorable career. It gives us a good picture of the "African army" between 1830 and 1870, dashing, colorful, far closer to medieval warfare than to the modern strategy of Carnot and Napoleon. Guedalla pays tribute to the rough but efficient work that Bazaine did in Mexico: but for Appomattox and Sadowa, he might have kept the puppet Emperor indefinitely on the throne. Guedalla does not attempt to probe—who could?—the unspoken ambitions the Marshal and his young wife may have entertained. Only a romancing biographer could do that; and, for all his incredible graces, Guedalla is a very sober historian.

When it comes to the surrender of Metz, Guedalla makes it plain that Bazaine was not a "traitor" in the vulgar sense of the term. It took me a quarter of a century to discover

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that plain truth. I accepted Bazaine's treason as an uncontroverted fact, like the existence of William Tell, or the fight to the death of the Vengeur. I was slow to discover that history is a forest of myths and symbols; or perhaps, in the words of Napoleon, a pack of unchallenged lies.

The last third of the book, devoted to Pétain, is not so colorful. Guedalla does not yield to the temptation of rewriting Pétain's earlier career in the baleful light of Vichy. No doubt Pétain was a good soldier—with a constant tendency to defeatism; and a good citizen, for, at heart a reactionary, he loyally kept out of politics until he was seventy-five. Pétain's honor was slowly engulfed by the quicksands—of his own choosing. Because he had toyed with the idea of being a Franco, he is ending as the puppet of Gauleiter Laval. This horrible process is finely studied by Guedalla, without sentimentality, without irony, without gloating. Still, I prefer the treatment of the same tragic theme by Kerillis and by Pertinax.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

Samuel Morse

THE AMERICAN LEONARDO: THE LIFE OF SAMUEL F. B. MORSE. By Carleton Mabee. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

IT IS seldom fair to hold an author accountable for the title under which his manuscript is ultimately published. In this case, however, Mr. Mabee, and Allan Nevins, who has contributed a glowing introduction to the biography, has been carried away by Morse's fancy that he was the American equivalent of Italy's Leonardo. As a consequence they have presented a curiously distorted picture of the man who is popularly supposed to have invented the telegraph. Morse was a man of considerable versatility. He was a competent painter of portraits, but when his landscapes failed to get him a commission for decorating the rotunda of the Capitol he sought other means of gaining federal patronage. Though he had less scientific knowledge and less mechanical ability than the four men who were associated with him in obtaining the patent for the first magnetic telegraph line to be strung across the eastern United States, he owned the controlling interest in their invention and received the public plaudits, the testimonial dinners, and the foreign decorations.

Morse's ventures into writing were sporadic activities tied up with his two excursions into politics, neither of which was to his credit. As a leading promoter of the Native American Party—which attracted the same kind of people in the 1830's and '40's as those that America First seduced a century later—he published under a pseudonym a widely read and dangerously inflammatory anti-Catholic pamphlet. During the Civil War he was the leader of the Diffusionists, a group of well-heeled Northerners who soon received the less equivocal designations of "peace men," "Copperheads," and "traitors."

All these facts about his hero Mr. Mabee sets forth in detail, being particularly careful in presenting the controversies about the telegraph. Where he pushes his Leonardo parallel close to absurdity and historical inaccuracy is in assuming that because Morse lived in New York City during the expansive social period with which the diaries of Philip

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Hone have made us familiar, this dutiful son of a stern New England Puritan actually acquired the gusto for life that was characteristic of the great men of the Renaissance. Because of his standing as a portrait painter and the sort of semi-professorship which he held at the University of New York, Morse was often invited to the same social functions which Hone and Washington Irving and Fitzgreene Halleck attended, but he never caught their spirit of high good-fellowship. By upbringing and constant association he belonged with a very different group of New Yorkers which was known disparagingly as the "Tappan crowd" and was composed of transplanted New England traders bent on forcing their native virtues and prejudices, first, on the town of their adoption, later on the whole country. Morse stuck with them in their crusades against the theater, wine-bibbing, and what they considered the indecencies and obscenities of New York. But when the national abolition of slavery became the burning issue, he broke away, because, so he declared, by antagonizing the lavish spenders in the South the "fools and fanatics of the North" would "slay the goose that lays the golden egg."

GRACE ADAMS

What of Asia?

PACIFIC CHARTER: OUR DESTINY IN ASIA. By Hallett Abend. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

THE continuing European bias in American thinking on foreign affairs, despite Pearl Harbor, is a remarkable thing. It is nowhere better evidenced than in the fact that out of the scores of books already issued by the prophets and planners of the post-war world only about half a dozen take any note at all of Asia and the Pacific and only two—those by Peffer and Abend—concentrate solely on that area. While this one-eyed outlook persists we must accordingly be grateful for such an effort as Mr. Abend's to depict in simplified outline for the non-expert reader some of the vast issues that will confront us in post-war Asia, even though the picture is still left very blurred with some of the details inexact.

Mr. Abend's proposals for a Far Eastern settlement have a certain family resemblance to those in Mr. Peffer's "Basis for Peace in the Far East." Japan must of course be disarmed. "Her military caste must be utterly discredited, her entire system of education must be remade, and her form of government must be changed, even though the Atlantic Charter incautiously declares for "the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." The discrediting of the militarists could best be assured by deposing the imperial house. What parts of the government and educational system are to be changed, by whom, and into what we are not told. Japan will be driven out of Asia and stripped of its colonies but will not be "barred from the world's markets." Manchuria, Formosa, and the Liu Chiu islands—Mr. Abend confuses them with the smaller Pescadores—should be returned to China, and it is implied, though not specifically stated, that British Hongkong and Portuguese Macao should be similarly restored. The abolition of extra-territoriality, concessions, and other special foreign privileges in China is already practically accomplished since the recent signing of the British and American treaties.

The Legacy of NAZISM

The Economic and Social Consequences of Totalitarianism

By FRANK MUNK

The effect of the Nazi domination of Europe on world economy is brilliantly analyzed in this new book by the author of "Economics of Force." He shows why the drastic economic, social and political changes that have been wrought have made impossible any return to pre-war conditions. There will be no *re*construction but a *new* construction, and we must plan for this now. Dr. Munk, a leading Czech economist who escaped from Prague in 1939, is now Lecturer in Economics at the University of California. $2.50

Towards an ABIDING PEACE

By R. M. MacIVER

Can we make a peace that will last? Yes, says Professor MacIver of Columbia University, and shows explicitly how he believes it can be attained. But we must be willing to pay the price. "He has much to say that will start controversy. . . . Those who are studying Walter Lippmann's 'nuclear' plan will do well to consult Professor MacIver's book."—Harry Hansen in *N. Y. World-Telegram.* $2.50

World Trade in Agricultural Products

By HENRY C. and ANNE D. TAYLOR

This first comprehensive, yet concise, survey of world trade in agricultural products supplies authentic facts and figures which reveal the effect of national trade policies, of international trade agreements, of imperial preferences, of various production and trade restrictions. Separate chapters deal with cotton, wheat, rubber, coffee, etc., and the future of the trade in relation to war and conditions of peace is discussed. "Authoritative and timely. . . . Expert interpretation."—*N. Y. Times Book Review.* $3.50

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Korea, Mr. Abend believes, must be promised eventual independence, but will not be fit for immediate self-government. It must have a period of political tutelage under an international guardianship. Philippine freedom must also be assured, but "the Filipinos will not be ready for independence politically, strategically, or economically, until at least a few years after the end of this war." Mr. Abend is severe on French rule in Indo-China, "easily the worst example of the white man's imperialism to be found in all of East Asia," and argues for an international authority in which the French and the Chinese might have an important role, despite the misguided pledges of the British and American governments to respect French sovereignty in the empire. He is vaguer about Thailand but feels that it too "will have to undergo a long period of political tutelage and guardianship."

The Indies have already been promised a post-war position of virtual equality with Holland in a wider Netherlands Commonwealth, but it remains doubtful whether this will only mean independence for the Dutch in the Indies and a favored few native leaders or whether it will transfer substantial political power to the Indonesians. Though recognizing this, Mr. Abend feels that there is no justification for booting the Dutch out and that they must be intrusted with the task of making good the promises of the Atlantic Charter. In Malaya "Great Britain will probably be left to restore stability and government as she sees fit." Burma, however, will be another case for international guardianship for a period, with China and the United States, besides Britain, assuming major responsibilities.

One wishes that Mr. Abend had contented himself with East and Southeast Asia and devoted himself to a more penetrating analysis of the heart-breaking internal difficulties of those areas. He continues, however, with muddled and inadequate chapters on India, Australia, and New Zealand, before coming to the problem of the smaller Pacific Islands (which he erroneously populates in the Southwest with "Malays," presumably meaning Melanesians). The Japanese-mandated islands, he feels, should belong to the United States or at least to a strong international authority; the chain of islands stretching south from Hawaii to Australia should also come under some type of international control for purposes of air traffic. He properly criticizes American unwillingness to grant landing rights at Hawaii to Australian air lines.

Having thus disposed of the Pacific and the Far East in 228 pages, Mr. Abend apparently felt obliged to throw in two extraneous anecdotal chapters on Matsuoka and Konoye, both of whom used him to convey impossible political offers to Roosevelt and Chiang Kai-shek. The Matsuoka scheme, transmitted through Abend and the New York *Times* to Washington, was the simple proposal to have Japan and the United States purchase all of eastern Siberia for thirty to fifty billion yen! Mr. Abend thinks President Roosevelt "chose to reply through official channels."

Aside from a number of minor errors of fact, the book suffers from a wholly inadequate attention to the perpetual and desperate problem of Asiatic poverty and economic backwardness. It is ironical that Mr. Abend, who a few years ago was writing luridly of chaos and corruption in a then relatively prosperous and peaceful China, should now fail to give sufficient consideration to the ominous economic breakdown in Free China today. Equally unfortunate is the failure to discuss the international machinery which will be needed for preserving peace and security in this redesigned Asia, or to consider the presumable role of the Soviet Union. These defects greatly weaken a book which, despite its oversimplifications, would otherwise serve as a good popular guide to an understanding of the destinies of that other half of humanity.

W. L. HOLLAND

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Fiction in Review

ANYONE who looks for another "Rebecca" in Daphne du Maurier's "Hungry Hill" (Doubleday, Doran, $2.75) will be sorely disappointed; in her new novel Miss du Maurier attempts something much more ambitious and something at which she is much less successful. Unmistakably set in Ireland though for some reason the locale is never named, "Hungry Hill" is a long, diligent, and boring narrative of a hundred years in the life of an Irish mine-owning family whose chief claim to notice, it seems to me, is its proclivity to die young and drink too much; disappointingly it turns out that the title refers only to the copper mine from which the Brodricks took their fortune. Quite until the Epilogue of the novel I was at a loss to understand what motivated Miss du Maurier to write it, but this last section, dated 1920 and concerning itself in an epiloguish way with the fate of the last Brodrick at the hands of his own rebellious countrymen, indicates that she intended her book to be a historical diagnosis, by means of one family, of what is wrong with the whole of past and present Ireland. And evidently what is wrong with Ireland is twofold but simple: the Irish resent any outside interference—the Epilogue makes much of the "Ourselves Alone" slogan of the rebels—at the same time that they are too indolent and superstitious and unreliable to do anything for themselves. Thus in Miss du Maurier's account the few sturdy souls like Copper John Brodrick who were industrious and enterprising had constantly to battle against their compatriots, and even their own descendants were too weak and indolent to carry on the family burden of responsibility. One wonders whether "Hungry Hill" implies, then, that what Ireland needs today is the ruthlessness of the Brodrick ancestors to force order and prosperity on the Irish people in spite of themselves.

But surely this is not a novel of a quality to provoke one either to agreement or disagreement with its political implications. The only significant thing about "Hungry Hill," in my opinion, is that it has so quickly become one of the country's leading best-sellers. Of course it may be that Miss du Maurier is only disappointing her vast "Rebecca" audience, and yet the equal popularity of another generations novel, Marcia Davenport's "Valley of Decision," which had no such predecessor, suggests that the secret of the large sale of "Hungry Hill" possibly lies in the fact that it covers so much time and kills off one generation after another, reminding one of death and the transitoriness of things—a contemporary substitute for the old tragic catharsis. At any rate, I strongly suspect that at least among women a novel of this sort is read in the utmost seriousness if only because it is sufficiently time-consuming to justify the time wasted on it, and sufficiently dreary to be respectable and support the sad lesson of the American schoolroom—namely, that for a novel to be elevating it must be dull.

If I was mystified to understand why Miss du Maurier wrote "Hungry Hill" and why it is being read, I am still more mystified to understand why in these days of paper rationing a novel as large, foolish, and inept as Carleton Beals's "Dawn over the Amazon" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $3) should be worth publishing. Of course, it is about Latin America, and anything about Latin America is presumed to promote hemispheric solidarity. I may be in a minority in feeling that a trivial adventure-and-intrigue story set in South America in 1950, at the start of a new world war, is scarcely invigorating propaganda in 1943—whatever the inspiring visions of air-conditioned cities in the jungle and whatever the final triumphs of something called the American League for Liberty and Democracy. But I should report, I suppose, that Mr. Beals was thinking of art, not of politics, when he wrote "Dawn over the Amazon": according to an author's note, the political events "have been selected merely as a peg on which to hang my story; they enable me to show human beings caught in the web of tragic happenings which leave no man's life untouched." I should add, however, that if Mr. Beals's Gabrielles and Marcelas are indeed human beings and the events of their lives have anything to do with a web of tragedy, then there is a closer connection than I ever suspected between Grade B spy heroines and Sophocles.

DIANA TRILLING

CONTRIBUTORS

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN writes of Congressional purgers from personal knowledge. The Dies committee in April recommended his dismissal from the Federal Communications Commission, but the Kerr committee threw out the charge of subversion for lack of evidence. Dr. Schuman is Woodrow Wilson professor of government at Williams College, and his books include "Design for Power," "Night Over Europe," "The Nazi Dictatorship," and "American Policy Toward Russia Since 1918."

DELMORE SCHWARTZ has recently published "Genesis," a long narrative in verse and prose. His other books include "Shenandoah," "In Dreams Begin Responsibilities," and "The Imitation of Life."

W. L. HOLLAND is editor of *Pacific Affairs*.

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FILMS

HORSES may send their children to "For Whom the Bell Tolls" without fear. That offensive word "stallion" (not to be confused with *Joseph* Stallion) which appeared in Mr. Hemingway's novel and even in Dudley Nichols's original script has been changed, in the finished production, to read "blazed face."

Human beings should proceed more cautiously; else they are liable to be misinformed. When f-sc-sts are actually mentioned, the one time they are, the context makes it clear that they are just Italians who, in company with German Nazis and those dirty Russian Communists, are bullyragging each other and poor little Spain, which wants only peace and quiet. In the same speech, if you are not careful, you may easily get the impression that Gary Cooper is simply fighting for the Republican Party in a place where the New Deal has got particularly out of hand. The next speech, which suggests that not all Americans have Mr. Cooper's disinterested historical foresight, appears in the Nichols script but not on the screen. There is, on the other hand, General Golz's joke about how full of accents Spain is these days, which I suppose can be regarded as a small triumph by screen workers defeated enough to seek their victories through microscopes. There is a faint hint that Gary Cooper (strictly in character) favors Russian cigarettes; I suppose if it were any more specific the run on Novotnys would be excelled only by the Norway-rat stampede of the millions to fling themselves at Earl Browder's feet. Miss Bergman is allowed to use the International Brigade's *Salud* once when Mr. Cooper says g'by, but when Mr. Cooper is saving a comrade from capture by shooting him through the head, neither of them can bear to say more than *adios,* though the script read differently. A line of Mr. Nichols's invention, "I come from Stalin," as it is excitingly delivered by Konstantin Shayne in the best use of a bit in years, may cheer some excitable sectors; I thought it highly ambiguous and, except as a piece of acting, unimportant. Mr. Nichols's original script is fairly riddled with the word fascist. The release script and the production prefer the word nationalist. I thought I once caught the word phalangist, but it may have been fuh land sakes.

Paramount, in other words, has crashed through. It has covered itself, too, against any pink nigglers who might bring the accusation of dodging political issues. The speech in which Mr. Cooper mentions fascists and the grand old party so misleadingly does at least—and with abominably clumsy hindsight—go on to say that Spain, as the old phrase went, is a proving-ground, a dress rehearsal for a greater war. But even this has no more organic connection with the film as a whole than a Gideon Bible has with a hotel bedroom.

There is, on the other hand, Ingrid Bergman. Miss Bergman not only bears a startling resemblance to an imaginable human being; she really knows how to act, in a blend of poetic grace with quiet realism which almost never appears in American pictures. Hemingway's conception of Maria is partly adolescent I think, and for a while her understanding of the role seems still more so. She seems never to have dreamed that a young girl who has seen death and suffered gang rape cannot in all reason bounce into her role looking like a Palmolive ad. But in many moments of the early love stuff—in flashes of shy candor and in the pleasures of playing *femme esclave*—she does very pretty things, and later on she does some very powerful ones. Her confession of the rape is an exquisitely managed tearjerker. Her final scene of farewell is shattering to watch. Not that it's perfect. But its sources and intention are so right, and so astonishingly out of key with the rest of the production. She seems really to have studied what a young woman might feel and look like in such a situation (not a moving picture)—half-nauseated and nine-tenths insane with grief, forced haste, and utter panic. Semi-achieved though it is, it is devastating and wonderful to see.

A lot of other actors ought to be mentioned if there were space. Katina Paxinou's Pilar is sometimes stagy, but she does have style and grandeur. Akim Tamiroff's Pablo would have been a great performance, I believe, if only it had had the chance. The best of Vladimir Sokoloff's Anselmo has real sweetness, as against the stock-company naive cuteness to which the production reduces his conscience over killing. Frank Puglia's Captain Gomez and Fortunio Bonanova's Fernando are solid and very likable, and a young Cuban named Lilo Yarson gives a gentle, fine performance as Joaquin. Gary Cooper is self-effacing and generally a little faint, like the character he plays, but the faintness has its moments of paying off, and his general support of Miss Bergman is nearly as good as the law will allow.

That is more than can be said of the coarse-grained general tone of the show. Mikhail Rasumny, who might have made a good nature symbol of the amoral gipsy, is reduced to a D. W. Griffith comic with overtones of a fine-arts survey course. Joseph Calleia's El Sordo, by no likely fault of his, is just a blend of Wallace Beery and Tully Marshall; and the famous stand on the hill, which needs mathematical cold-processing, is nearly illegible. Hemingway perhaps crowded in more grand-scale characters than he could handle, but at least they had the benefit of the whole of his great talent and intention; here, though they talk forever, they are just a mush with mica flashing on it, half-developed, nervously tossed aside, incoherent. One single shot of the desperate love and hopeful intuition which prompts Agostino to strike his leader could have given that scene intact terror, even greatness, as a tragic image of appeasement; as it is, it is like a fine dog running on three legs. The suspensive intercutting of the long last night, sedulous as it is in its derivation from "Intolerance," where that was invented, only increases my reverence for the old picture; the new has all the suspense of a clothesline swaybacked with wetwash. The suspense at the bridge as dynamite is laid is boldly protracted to the point of ridicule. I sympathized with the boldness and was had by the suspense but could not help realizing that, properly conceived and cut, it could have been ten times as exciting in half the footage. The rhythm of this film, in fact, is the most defective I have ever seen in a superproduction.

The Technicolor is even unluckier. It is as good as the best experts, at this stage, can make it: which still means the rankest kind of magazine-illustration and postcard art. Color is very nice for costume pieces and musical comedies, and has a great aesthetic future in films, but it still gets fatally in the way of any serious imitation of reality.

Of all the rumbling rumors and denials of political interference on the part of the Franco government, the Catholic church, and the State Department, it has been possible chiefly to find only the clogged-drain smell which the picture bears out. Franco's ambassador tried to get the State Department to suppress it and was refused. The San Francisco consul, Francisco Amat, saw

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the script and objected to everything you might expect him to, and was reputedly disregarded. Adolph Zukor says, "It is a great picture, without political significance. We are not for or against anybody." Other Paramount executives have delivered lines almost as distinguished. On the question whether the opening was delayed from March to July because Robert Jordan—pardon me, Murphy—had work to do in Spain, the State Department declines comment. There are people in Washington, however, who are not eager to tie their names to it, who say that the whole affair is "too hot to talk about." Why, is any man's guess. And how this production could possibly have offended anyone politically, except a few million powerless characters who retain some vestige of moral nerve, is beyond any guessing.

Mr. Hemingway's sleeping bag, by the way, is so discreetly used that you can never at any moment be sure who is in or out nuendo.

JAMES AGEE

MUSIC

AT MONTEUX'S second broadcast concert with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Artur Schnabel was the soloist in Schumann's Piano Concerto; and having heard him play one of Schumann's sets of piano pieces superbly a few years ago I went to this concert with anticipation, only to be surprised and disappointed by playing that was heavy and labored much of the time—though there were of course phrases turned out with the marvelous inflection which Schnabel is capable of.

I heard only the first movement of Tchaikovsky's Fourth Symphony, which was better conceived by Monteux and played with more precision and better tone by the orchestra than the works of the preceding concert. As for this first concert, in justice to Monteux—who, though not a great musician, is a technically expert conductor—I will elaborate my recent statement that with additional rehearsal he might have achieved the beauty of sonority and finish that was lacking. My guest and I had reached this conclusion at the concert; but a few days later he wrote that he had discovered Monteux had had exactly 1¼ hours of rehearsal—this for almost 1½ hours of performance. This led me to write to him asking the source of his information, and to the New York Philharmonic asking how much rehearsal time Monteux had had. The answer from the Philharmonic denied that he had had only 1¼ hours; but it did not tell me how much time he *had* had. What it did was to say that conductors were being given "the usual rehearsal of 2½ hours," and as much as four hours when necessary: for Bruno Walter, merely repeating works he had conducted during the winter, 2½ hours were enough; for a conductor new to the orchestra as much as four hours was allowed. This implied, without actually saying so, that Monteux had had anywhere from 2½ to four hours; and a couple of weeks later my guest answered, naming a person seemingly unimpeachable as a spokesman for Monteux as the one who had told him Monteux had had exactly one rehearsal of exactly 1¼ hours.

Put aside the conflict in statements for the moment; and consider only the Philharmonic's statement. It is true that the length of "the usual rehearsal" is 2½ hours; but the usual number of such rehearsals with which a Philharmonic conductor prepares his Thursday evening program is four—making the rehearsal time ten hours. True, his program is from twenty to thirty minutes longer; but even if you deduct for that you don't get four hours. If Toscanini conducting his own N. B. C. Symphony gets at least six hours of rehearsal for a broadcast of an hour, Monteux should get that much for a program of almost an hour and a half with an orchestra that he is conducting for the first time.

As for the conflict in statements, let it constitute my answer to those who have wondered that I haven't established the right and wrong of controversies like the one between ASCAP and the broadcasting chains, or between Mr. Petrillo and the record companies. If I get conflicting statements on a simple matter like the amount of time Monteux had for rehearsal of a concert, what hope have I—even if I devote my time to nothing else—of getting the mere facts of those tangled controversies out of the people involved in them?

For one thing I would have to get them from people in and about the broadcasting and record companies; and experience has taught me that the broadcasting and record company mind and my own are mutually baffling. Perhaps I should say the business mind; but that wouldn't be correct. The purpose of business being, as I understand fully, to make money, there is the business mind which makes its money by selling a useful and good product like bicarbonate of soda or a new discovery like the sulfa compounds; and I understand that. Then there is the business mind which makes its money by selling something worthless like Prudence Powderfeather's Mystic Elixir; and I understand that. But there is also the business mind which thinks that the fact that it sells hundreds of thousands of bottles of the Mystic Elixir makes the Elixir a good product, its manufacture a noble act of public benefaction, and any attack on it an outrage, contending that an expert who conducts a health and medicine column should write about the Elixir from the point of view of the hundreds of thousands of women who find it helpful, not from the point of view of one expert who finds it to be three parts mud and one part colored water. And that mind I find baffling.

So with records. There is the English record company mind which makes money with products as good as the English recordings of Furtwängler and Beecham and the pre-war English pressings of these recordings; and I understand that. Then there is the mind of one American record company executive —the only one of his kind that I have encountered—who is willing to make money with bad recordings, bad pressings, bad needles if people are willing to buy them; and I understand that. But there is the mind of some other executives of record companies which produce good and bad, and offer both equally as the best—who, when they have sold large quantities of a bad recording or of bad pressings to people without the ears and the machines to know what they were buying, think that this makes the records good, their manufacture an act worthy of praise, and adverse criticism a manifestation of a viciously ignoble nature, contending that an expert who conducts a record column should write about the records from the point of view of the hundreds of thousands of people with defective ears and defective machines who find them satisfactory, not from the point of view of an expert with good ears and a good machine who hears their defects. That mind I find baffling; and Beecham seems to have had trouble understanding it too.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Mr. Lippmann Demurs

Dear Sirs: In his review of my book "U. S. Foreign Policy," Mr. Albert Guérard said that "from the point of view of the realistic historian, the weakness of Lippmann's book is that he ignores Europe west of the Curzon line." I am genuinely puzzled by this statement. For the thesis of my book is that the American nations have always since their settlement been members of a historical community, comprising the peoples who live on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. These nations include—besides the American republics, Canada, the United Kingdom, and Eire—the following states of continental Europe: France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. *All* of these states constitute, I insist, a single system of security in that an aggression against any one of them will of necessity involve all of them. I call this system the Atlantic Community. The members of it in continental Europe are all of them "west of the Curzon line."

My argument is that the alliance of the Atlantic Community with Russia and with China is the necessary nucleus of a stable world order. I argue that a world order cannot be generated on the League of Nations principle of an association of more than fifty states acting by unanimous consent, and that historical experience teaches us that larger societies grow by agglomeration around a nuclear state powerful enough to provide protection and the benefit of wider intercourse. Those who take the League of Nations view frequently argue from the analogy of the American Union, which, they suppose, was formed by the voluntary consent of thirteen sovereign states. I argue in my book that this analogy is historically false in that the authors of our Constitution did not create a new union but, as they said, perfected a union which had in fact existed from the first settlement of North America under their common allegiance to the British crown.

Mr. Guérard is, I judge from his review and from a private letter, a partisan of a European union comprising all the nations west of Russia and including Britain. I am not. I should regard such a union, if it were consummated as a military federation, as wholly undesirable if, fortunately, it were not wholly unrealizable. Such a "Europe" would inevitably be a Pan-German Europe. For there is no state west of the Curzon line large enough to resist German domination. Such a Europe would at once be mortally at odds with Russia. It would alienate Britain from Russia, and it would—if the United Kingdom followed Mr. Guérard's advice and adhered to it—cause the dissolution of the British Commonwealth and the isolation of the Americas.

WALTER LIPPMANN

Washington, D. C., June 29

The Missing Chapter

Dear Sirs: It is true that the states listed by Mr. Lippmann in his letter are all "west of the Curzon line." But they do not constitute "Europe." Mr. Lippmann's scheme fails to provide for Germany, Poland, the Danube Basin, the Balkans, the Mediterranean region. Even the states he mentions would be merely the outposts or satellites of an overwhelming Anglo-American combination. Few of them would be satisfied with such a situation. I have been an American almost as long as Mr. Lippmann; but I was a European before that, and I know how Continental Europeans feel. I am afraid Mr. Lippmann does not. That is what I mean by "ignoring Europe."

Europe is a historical, cultural, economic reality, and we should not attempt to disrupt it. If it were kept divided or Balkanized, torn between the conflicting influences of Russia and Britain, you may be sure that it would be constantly under the menace of Germany, encircled and resentful. The only way of settling the German problem is to absorb Germany into the European Union. All strategic materials, resources, and activities would be under federal control. There would be European citizens of German speech, as there are at present Swiss citizens of German speech. The difference is that in Switzerland the Germans outnumber the rest, three to one; in United Europe they would be outnumbered, three to one.

Mr. Lippmann's letter is a most welcome instalment of the missing eleventh chapter. In his admirable contributions to the *Herald Tribune,* he has gone farther: "Let us not imagine that Europe can be resettled and restored without the full participation of France, and without the influence that France alone can exert." I wager that France's policy will follow the tradition of Aristide Briand, and seek to build a United Europe.

Why I believe that Europe *does* include Great Britain, but not the Soviet world, is too large a question to be discussed in a brief paragraph. I hope I shall have the opportunity of presenting my arguments at greater length.

ALBERT GUERARD

New York, July 3

Those "Broad-gauged Men"

Dear Sirs: In an article entitled The Downfall of Joseph Weiner in a June issue of *The Nation,* your Washington correspondent, I. F. Stone, expressed uncertainty about the meaning of Donald Nelson's phrase "broad-gauged men."

The answer may be found in Chapter XIX of "Babbitt," wherein that worthy is accused by one of his employees, whom he is about to discharge for dishonesty, of being himself dishonest and on a larger scale. Babbitt replies in defense of his actions—using his knowledge of the proposed route of a new street-car line to make huge profits in real estate for himself and the street-car officials—by declaring righteously: "There was nothing dishonest about it. The only way you can get progress is for *the broad-gauged men* to get things done; and they got to be rewarded"—in this instance, it would appear, with Joseph Weiner's scalp.

LT. (J.G.) WM. G. LEARY, U.S.N.R.

Norman, Oklahoma, June 26

FSA Architecture

Dear Sirs: Considering its immediate purpose, your editorial some time ago on the Farm Security Administration was justified in referring only to economic and related achievements. But when the final score comes to be chalked up, let it not be forgotten that the Western office of the FSA is responsible for some of the best architecture which has been done in the United States in recent years—architecture, that is, considered realistically as a social function.

IRVING F. MORROW

Oakland, Cal., May 3.

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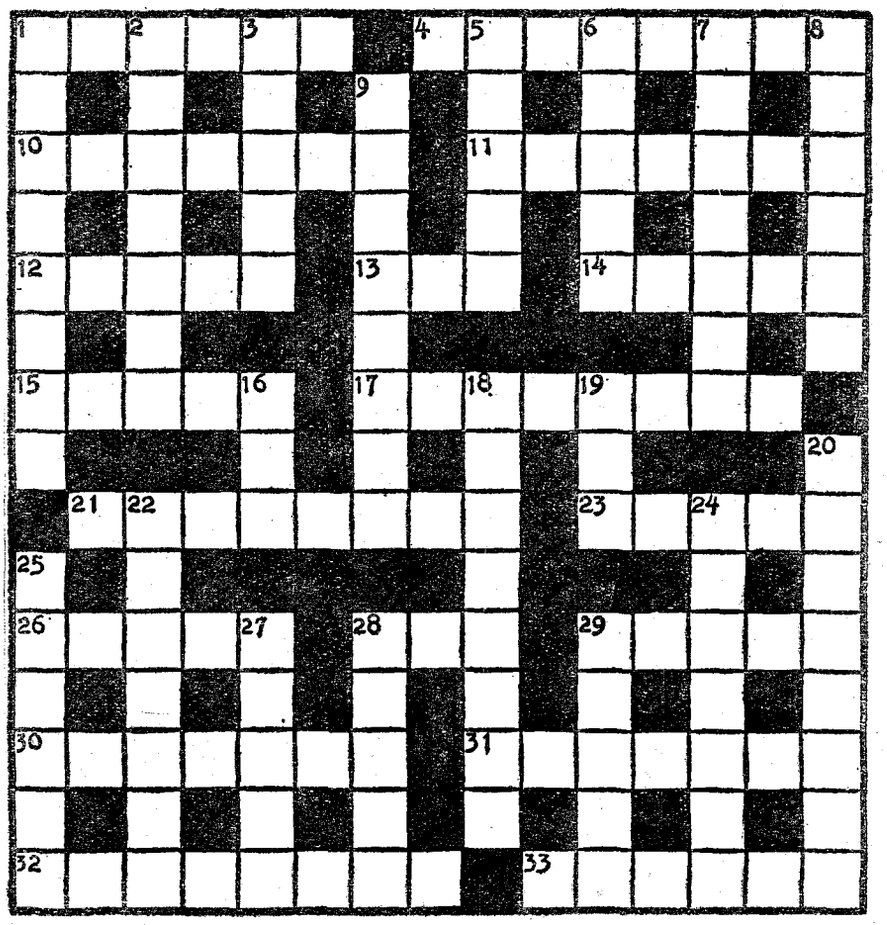
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 22

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 & 4 English version of Cavalleria Rusticana
10 Might we say that this'll please 'em?
11 Troops surrounding "Y" find only a shepherd
12 "Thou wear a lion's hide! doff it for shame, And hang a ----- skin on those recreant limbs" (King John)
13 Party in power
14 All right in the theatre, but not in the home
15 This organ is blown by hand
17 Claques are paid to give it, yet they give it freely
21 A case of the minority having numerical superiority (two words, 5 and 3)
23 Famous London landmark
26 European cavalryman of the last war
28 Half sister
29 Lord Chesterfield wrote that idleness was only the refuge of weak ones
30 It's a bit bigger than another bird
31 Give it a name
32 U. S. bachelor president
33 His mare is again becoming a popular means of progression

DOWN

1 A thin time may be in store for women who go in for it
2 Matches that begin with an undeniable fault
3 Inventor's stock-in-trade
5 Twin brother to Pocus
6 Poison
7 They don't mind being taken in
8 He had fun at a royal court, according to the story
9 Ira pants—for political office, perhaps
16 He surrendered at Appomattox
18 The witticism I dropped is not let off
19 The tail of a cart
20 Have snappy ones gone out of fashion since the introduction of the zip fastener?
22 Skilled in political affairs
24 Being upright he won't sin
25 Bees are responsible for half of the row
27 Rather an uncommon name for a girl
28 Anne's back for tea, but she won't like it!
29 Lucifer

(We are indebted to W. H. W., Montpelier, Vt., for 24)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 21

ACROSS:—1 CAPITAL; 5 LETTERS; 9 SCOTS; 10 NOR; 11 LOGAN; 12 ANGELS; 15 ANGELL; 16 EASIEST; 17 DOOM; 19 FLAT; 21 ALIMONY; 22 ISLE; 23 WAVE; 25 SEASONS; 27 IDEALS; 29 EASIER; 33 IN USE; 34 ILL; 35 DENSE; 36 LOTTERY; 37 ATHIRST.

DOWN:—1 CUSTARD; 2 PRONG; 3 TUSSLE; 4 LINO; 5 LARK; 6 TALENT; 7 EAGRE; 8 SINGLET; 13 SALLIES; 14 FIRMEST; 15 ASININE; 18 OIL; 20 LEA; 22 INITIAL; 24 EARNEST; 25 SLEEVE; 26 SARDAH; 28 EXULT; 30 INNER; 31 AIRY; 32 ELLA.

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